Daily Report

East Europe

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'Official, Final' Election Results Published

AU2712180894 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Central Electoral Commission has adopted Decision No. 500, with which it announced the official, final election results. Commission chairman Elena Dzhelepova read an address to the citizens of Bulgaria. After reviewing the preparations for election day and the conduct of the elections, Mrs. Dzhelepova said:

[Begin Dzhelepova recording] According to the law, parties and coalitions that received 4 percent of all valid votes cast throughout the country have the right to be represented in the National Assembly. This percentage has been achieved by the following parties and coalitions:

Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]—24.23 percent;

People's Union—Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] and Democratic Party—6.51 percent;

Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS]—5.44 percent;

Bulgarian Business Bloc [BBB]—4.72 percent;

Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]-Aleksandur Stamboliyski BZNS- Ecoglasnost Political Club Coalition—43.50 percent.

The seats in the National Assembly are distributed in the following manner:

SDS—69 seats;

People's Union—BZNS-Democratic Party—18 seats;

DPS—15 seats;

BBB—13 seats;

BSP-Aleksandur Stamboliyski BZNS-Ecoglasnost Political Club Coalition—125 seats;

Some 240 people's representatives have been elected.

The elections took place under conditions of broad public control. Representatives of parties and coalitions, observers, and journalists, attended the polling stations from the moment the stations were opened until they closed.

The elections took place in a calm atmosphere. Bulgarian voters exercised their constitutional right to vote with dignity. They demonstrated that they are loyal to their convictions and that they respect the choice of their compatriots.

The Central Electoral Commission has received complaints, petitions, protests, and retorts regarding the elections. Some of them refer to the electoral lists and the printing and distribution of ballots; others are related to various violations during the election campaign and on election day, as well as to disturbances of the public order.

The analysis of the information we have allows us to conclude that there have been separate violations, but that these violations have not been significant and do not discredit the election results.

The Central Electoral Commission hopes that, following the path of democracy, the parties in and outside the parliament will work together in the name of Bulgaria, our only, common, motherland.

Let us remember that regardless of our differences, we need Bulgaria equally, cannot live without it, and are interested in its prosperity. Bulgaria also needs us. We cannot exist without it and it cannot exist without us. We will march together. [end recording]

Three members of the Central Electoral Commission—Bogdan Tsanvev, Dimitur Dimitrov, and Yana Nikolova—signed Decision No. 500 with reservations. Their motives are related to the preparation of the electoral lists and, mainly, to the democratic nature of the election campaign, the access to the mass media, the distribution of the ballots' colors, and so on.

All three admit that the elections have been legal.

Zhelev Acknowledges BSP Election Victory

AU2712182294 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The 37th National Assembly will be convened within the period of time prescribed by the Constitution, President Zhelyu Zhelev said after his meeting with the leadership of the Central Electoral Commission, at which he received the official decision on the official and final election results.

After a brief conversation with the leadership of the Central Electoral Commission President Zhelev made the following statement to the representatives of the mass media:

[Begin Zhelev recording] We found that the elections have taken place in accordance with the Election Law, something that allows us to say that they are fully legal. Regardless of whether the law itself is good or bad, the elections took place according to that law.

I can also say that the elections were democratic and that many parties took part in them.

The Central Electoral Commission had many difficulties because of the law's imperfection. Some people are satisfied with Commission's decisions; others, probably not. However, I think it coped successfully with all difficulties.

I take this opportunity to express my special gratitude to the caretaker cabinet, which faultlessly accomplished its main task: the preparation and conduct of parliamentary

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elections in accordance with the Constitution. I think that the caretaker cabinet guaranteed the financial-material conditions for holding elections normally.

I can also say that Bulgarian voters demonstrated an exceptional responsibility as regards the elections, which surpassed all expectations in anything related to mass participation. This proves that despite the different moods in the population, the people are not indifferent toward the processes that are taking place in the country.

The results of the elections are well-known: The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] won the elections in a convincing manner. Now it must assume the entire responsibility for the executive power in accordance with the Constitution. [end recording]

SDS Thanks Citizens for Support, Views Future

AU2712165994 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 20 Dec 94 p 1

[Address by the National Coordinating Council of the SDS; place and date not given: "There Is No Place for Faintheartedness Right Now"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dear friends of democracy:

The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] will certainly win the elections; Bulgaria will certainly lose them!

Now the former Communist Party will openly rule the country alone. The democratic and economic reforms initiated by the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] are being threatened.

From the day it won the elections in 1991, the SDS has become the target of political attacks—and not just from the direction of the BSP. Outsiders and our own people attacked the SDS when they thought that destroying the SDS would serve their own interests.

Dear friends: We thank you for being with us and for giving your vote for the defense of our motherland's dignity. You supported us with your selfless help and contributions, and your talent, authority, and faces.

There is no place for faintheartedness right now. The present and future situation require a sober analysis and mature decisions. The SDS will further defend your interests because they are Bulgaria's interests. Bulgaria cannot be defeated. Democracy is eternal and its victory is the only chance our country has. Despite the fact that, in the future, parliament will be an opposition force, we will do everything in our power to prevent the return of Bulgaria to Communism.

We call upon all those who were not a part of the sinister regime of the past 50 years to support us.

We know that the Bulgarian people will soon understand that it is impossible to implement the promises that the BSP has generously made. We are convinced that the BSP will have to withdraw from the executive power long before the end of its mandate.

Be proud that you voted for democracy and that you are worthy citizens!

Bulgaria will triumph!

Official Notes Lack of Political Alternatives

AU2712163294 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 22 Dec 94 p 7

[Interview with Krasimir Premyanov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, by Rumyana Strugarova; place and date not given: "Krasimir Premyanov Is Sorry That the Forces of the Left Have No Alternative"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Strugarova] Mr. Premyanov, are you pleased with the election results? I mean not only the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] victory but also the entry of more political forces into parliament and the chance of destroying the bipolar model.

[Premyanov] We will see what result the makeup that is emerging now will bring for parliament. I do not think this means that by definition anything will be better. The structures of political life in Bulgaria are in a dynamic state. They are not in equilibrium. I believe that this parliament will also fail to solidify them. It is absurd for Bulgaria to have 160 parties, and for 60 of them to take part in the elections. As a result, a conclusion will be drawn about the effectiveness of parliament's configuration from the results the parties obtained from their intentions as declared in their campaign platforms.

[Strugarova] The actual election result is no surprise. However, how do you explain the great difference in the number of votes won by the BSP and the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]?

[Premyanov] We are not concerned with the SDS' problems. It is normal for our proposed policy to win the support of 43-45 percent of the voters—especially since it has emerged as an alternative to a failed policy. However, it is a pity that the right wing, as represented by the SDS (I say "right wing" in quotes because it has not shown itself to be one), does not have sufficient influence in society. Bulgaria needs strong political forces, each able to rule the country through its policies either independently or through the philosophy it advocates. In Bulgaria, one can see that no alternative exists to government by the forces of the left. There is simply no one to replace them. This does not please me at all.

[Strugarova] Does this mean that there is no longer any talk of forming some coalition?

[Premyanov] Quite the contrary. A coalition is not excluded, because we must seek consensus with the maximum number of political partners on the fundamental problems. A coalition is not excluded even when we have an absolute majority. We will try to seek constructive interrelations with political forces in order to achieve maximum benefit for the nation from the

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reforms and to ensure a dynamic government. Accordingly, I believe that political dialogue is the Bulgarian Socialist Party's second face. All parties claim to have formed their own attitude toward the country's problems. It should follow that, when these problems constitute the agenda of the day, they should have a sufficient commitment to discussing them and seeking the right solution. The activity shown by all the political forces on important national issues is a guarantee for achieving a better result.

[Strugarova] Just as soon as the results were declared, Filip Dimitrov stated that the SDS will invite all the parties that crossed the 4-percent hurdle to cooperate in a coalition in opposition to the BSP.

[Premyanov] I do not know whether this would save the SDS leaders from their responsibility for the failure. In general, the old phonograph record "All Against One" is worn out. It demonstrates yet again that the philosophy proclaimed by the SDS leadership is barren and has no future.

[Strugarova] Given that the BSP will have a decisive majority in the 37th National Assembly, what will be its first legislative proposals?

[Premyanov] Without barring the legislative prerogatives provided by the Constitution, it is most proper to give priority to the laws the government will propose to implement the legislative section of its program.

[Strugarova] Will the fact that the BZNS [Bulgarian National Agrarian Union] appeared as your coalition partner in the election campaign place greater emphasis on the problems of the land and agriculture in general?

[Premyanov] One cannot apply piecemeal approaches to all the problems in executive and legislative work. Our work should be the fruit of a rich, many—sided view, accompanied by both administrative decisions and legislative acts relating to the problem's entire infrastructure. [passage omitted]

[Strugarova] Your opponents predict mass purges of personnel....

[Premyanov] That merely reveals the distorted thinking of those who claim it. Whoever predicts and bets on administration and methods of this kind is no democrat in spirit and does not understand the democratic processes in Bulgaria. We have declared quite often enough to Bulgarian society that we do not approve of political purges and dismissals, that we rely on professionalism, and that we keep to the objective criteria for participating in governing the state.

Videnov on Coalition Talks, BSP Governing Plans

AU2712140694 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 20 Dec 94 pp 1, 2

[Interview with BSP Supreme Council Chairman Zhan Videnov, by Boyka Bashlieva; place and date not given: "Videnov Is Ready for Prime Minister Post"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Bashlieva] Mr. Videnov, the champagne flowed yesterday. What, specifically, will the leadership of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] do today?

[Videnov] We are preparing an analysis of the elections, a political address to the voters, and a joint meeting of the Supreme Council and the parliamentary faction, which should take place before the end of the year.

We are also preparing for the first session of the new parliament, which will be a decisive session. We are about to complete the legislative activity draft, the National Assembly regulations, and the draft government program.

We will by all means publish a white paper on the situation in the country after a five-year period of generally unsuccessful transition. After the publication of the official results we will propose to parliamentary and extraparliamentary forces that they begin negotiations with us on the formation of a government.

[Bashlieva] Who, specifically, will you invite to the negotiations?

[Videnov] We will invite all parliamentary forces and one or two extraparliamentary, nationally responsible and socially oriented forces.

[Bashlieva] Do you mean the Democratic Alternative for the Republic [DAR] and the Patriotic Alliance?

[Videnov] Yes, I mean first of all them. However, the results of the negotiations with the parliamentary forces will be decisive. I think that a part of them will be engaged for a long time in divvying up the inheritance of the bankrupt "blue" [Union of Democratic Forces—SDS] idea, and will not be prepared to participate in the government in any way. However, we might succeed with other forces.

[Bashlieva] With whom do you link your hopes for success?

[Videnov] It depends on the platforms and government formulas. We do not have insurmountable program differences with the Bulgarian Business Bloc [BBB] and the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS]. However, we could find it impossible to reach an agreement on the nature of the government, and this applies especially to the DPS. The DPS's refusal to understand that the non-party cabinet formula has exhausted itself not only caused the cabinet crisis and the relative DPS failure in the elections, but it could also push the new cabinet into a dead-end street. We will try to convince our potential partners that there is a high degree of public agreement on the need to form a strong parliamentary majority and a politically responsible coalition government.

[Bashlieva] What compromises could the BSP make during the negotiations?

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[Videnov] We are prepared to make serious compromises in anything related to posts, political personalities, and party spheres of influence. We will not compromise with our preelection commitments to our society. Our platform was prepared on the basis of the idea that it will most probably be implemented by a coalition government of a truly national character. We were sharply criticized for this but we stood our ground, and now we have the right to adhere to our platform to the end.

[Bashlieva] Do you see yourself as the prime minister of the coalition cabinet?

[Videnov] Yes, this is natural. This practice is accepted throughout Europe. The countries in transition also know another model—for example, the Polish model, where the prime minister belongs to the smaller coalition party. However, this model has many negative aspects. Nevertheless, for us this is an issue for interparty negotiations.

[Bashlieva] Will the BSP assume the government alone if it proves impossible to form a coalition cabinet?

[Videnov] Yes, of course. This does not even depend on the BSP. The election result is a categorical mandate for the direct and decisive participation of the BSP in the elections. A refusal to carry out this mandate would amount to political suicide.

[Bashlieva] Sometimes power unites fierce opponents and divides people who used to think the same way. Would the BSP succeed in mobilizing its own forces in one direction: the successful governing of the country?

[Videnov] At this stage the categorical answer is: Yes. We could face this problem after a year or a year and a half, as a result of self-complacency or dissatisfaction with the achievements. However, this is something we will have to discuss then.

[Bashlieva] Lately, some people are saying that the BSP will usurp the property of the people and block their savings, and that there will be a return to old practices.

[Videnov] Those are the ravings of crazy people. We gave not only coalition and party but also personal political guarantees that this will not happen. I am extremely repulsed by the criminal irresponsibility of such sorry ministers, politicians, and commentators. It is a crime to destabilize the country's finances further at such a grave moment, through the deliberate dissemination of rumors. I promise two things: First, those who disseminate such rumors will be held responsible for their deeds. Second, the tales about seizing property will never materialize. Let the people be calm. Such a thing will not happen.

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Last Empty National Council Seat Filled

AU2712152794 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Dec 94 p 2

[Article by parliamentary correspondent Milan Stanislav: "Slota's School of Democracy; National Council Approved Provisional Budget"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava—[Passage omitted] After yesterday, the National Council of the Slovak Republic is at full strength again. After the withdrawal of Ivan Luptak, first substitute for the seat of Environment Minister Jozef Zlocha, Jozefa Obsitnikova (Movement for a Democratic Slovakia-Slovak Farmers Party) took up the vacated seat. Apart from this, the deputies also elected representatives of employers and policy holders into the administrative boards of the General Health Insurance Company and the Social Insurance Company. For the two companies to become operational, it is still necessary to elect the government's representatives on the two boards.

Press Reports State Administration Staff 'Purges'

AU2712165494

[FBIS Editorial Report] Bratislava SME in Slovak on 20 and 23 December publishes reports on "purges" of state administration staff at the Ministry of Education and Science and at the Ministry of Culture. The reports stress that even officials who had been appointed under Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's previous governments are being sacked.

Bratislava SME in Slovak on 20 December on page 1 carries a 500-word "so"—attributed report on a "big bang" at the Slovak Ministry of Education and Science on 19 December, a few days after Eva Slavkovska, the new minister from the Slovak National Party [SNS], assumed office. According to the report, the new minister dismissed an unspecified number of section chiefs, including F. Zemanovic, chief of the ministry's financial section; J. Zuberec, chief of the section for primary and secondary schools and school facilities; and P. Belko, chief of the section for universities, and six out of seven "departmental directors." Only Zita Veghova, director of the primary schools department, reportedly survived the "earthquake." According to the report, the minister did not give any reasons for her personnel decisions and "paradoxically, she even dismissed people who had been brought to the ministry by former State Secretary Jozef Tarcak from the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], her coalition partner." SME reports that representatives of teachers "do not conceal their skepticism" over the replacement of the ministry's expert staff. An unspecified representative of Comenius University is quoted as having said: "When ministers change, you can survive it. But I am afraid that we will not have the energy to establish new contacts and explain the problems anew to all of the new expert staffers." The dismissal of the director of the financial section, "who has been universally acknowledged as an expert of exceptional qualities and who has always been strictly apolitical," is reportedly considered to be the "greatest catastrophe."

Bratislava SME in Slovak on 21 December on page 2 carries a 100-word interview with Eva Slavkovska, minister of education and science, by correspondent "jam." The place and date of the interview are not given. Asked about the reasons for the "dismissal of section chiefs and most departmental directors—that is, experts holding posts that are not political"—Slavkovska replies: "I have been following the work of the Ministry of Education for some time. I have my own priorities and my own concepts, and I am convinced that these people would not fulfill them."

Bratislava SME in Slovak on 23 December on pages 1 and 2 carries an 800-word "pt, si"-attributed report entitled "Purges in State Administration Are Implementation of HZDS Personnel Policy Directive." The report specifies that Eva Slavkovska, minister of education and science, dismissed a total of 38 ministerial staffers and three administrative workers on 19 December, all of whom had been hired under ministers of Vladimir Meciar's previous two governments. Jan Carnogursky, chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement, is quoted as having said that "there have never before been such purges at this ministry."

According to the same SME report, similar "purges" have been carried out at the Ministry of Culture as well. Right after assuming office, Ivan Hudec, the new minister, reportedly "allowed two hours for the head of the Secretariat and the head of the Personnel Department to move out and had their official passes taken away so that they could not enter the ministry building." Citing "sources close to the government that do not wish to be named," the report goes on to say that "all leading officials, with the exception of the chief of the legislative section, have been dismissed." According to SME's source, "all decisions have been carried out according to the so-called HZDS Personnel Policy Directive: Fired officials are transferred to other jobs, where they are assigned impossible tasks. When they fail to do them, they are dismissed on the grounds of incompetence, without claim to severance pay."

According to information obtained by SME from its source, the new minister of culture has already made some appointments, including that of Jozef Piatnica as director of the Personnel Department. Piatnica, who reportedly lacks any qualification for this post, is said to have spent the past six months selling potatoes at the main fruit and vegetable market in Bratislava. According to the report, Minister Ivan Hudec is also preparing an amendment to the law on the organization of ministries, "under which the Ministry of Culture is to draft legislation in the sphere of public information, supervise the state administration body for public information and the registration of the periodical press, and formulate the principles of ethnic and state information policy."

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Meciar on Appointment of TV Director General

LD2712175594 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] I learned only from television that Jozef Darmo became Slovak Television director general. This is what Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar said today in an interview for Radiozurnal.

He felt that this was evidence of the fact that the government did not intervene in mass media operations.

The prime minister emphasized that the parliament elected independent people as representatives of the Slovak Television and Slovak Radio Councils. These people are not members of government coalition parties.

Meciar thinks that the cultivation of national consciousness, culture, and education in these public institutions is essential.

Vladimir Meciar said that the value-added tax increase on the daily press from the current 6 percent to 25 percent, which is allegedly being prepared by the government, was a rumor. He said that the government did not discuss any such proposal under the economic measures plan for the first quarter of 1995.

Kovac Criticizes HZDS Interference in Media

AU2812084594 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 22 Dec 94 p 3

[Report on a letter from William A. Orme Jr., executive director of the Commission for the Protection of Journalists, to President Michal Kovac, followed by a commentary by Peter Strelinger and President Michal Kovac's reply to the letter: "Guaranteed Truthful Information?; Commission for the Protection of Journalists Is Deeply Disturbed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Slovak President Michal Kovac granted to the chief editor of our daily a letter from William A. Orme Jr., executive director of the Commission for the Protection of Journalists (CPJ), which states that the commission is "deeply disturbed by the dismissal of all (but one) members of the Slovak Television [STV] Council on 4 November 1994."

Mr. Orme cites as another example of violation of press freedom the dismissal of STV commentator Svetozar Kosicky. In his letter, he also mentions the dismissal of Vladimir Stefko from the post of Slovak Radio director general and writes, among other things, that "among the first deeds of the new director, Jan Tuzinsky (whom he calls a prominent figure of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], the dominant parliamentary party), was the promise to reduce Radio Journal, the most popular Slovak Radio news program, from one hour to 20 minutes."

Especially remarkable is the following assertion by Executive Director Mr. Orme (from whose letter we quote according to the working translation given to us by President Michal Kovac): "As the above examples demonstrate, journalism that is dependent on the goodwill of government officials introduces the ethics of political partisanship into public broadcasting. The CPJ is convinced that these cases will affect most severely the citizens of Slovakia, who, in future political debates, will be prevented from seeing things from all angles. We share the view of our Slovak colleagues that this development will reduce the free flow of information, which is inevitable for a democratic society, as enshrined in Article 19 of the UN General Declaration of Human Rights.

"As an impartial organization serving the purpose of protecting the rights of our colleagues the world over, the CPJ strongly condemns any means limiting the freedom of the press and preventing journalists from providing the public with objective and truthful information. We respectfully turn to you, Your Excellency, to enable STV and Slovak Radio, as well as other media in Slovakia, to engage in their activity free of political interference."

One thing is startling about the letter from Mr. W.A. Orme Jr., CPJ executive director, to the president of the Slovak Republic. Where did he obtain the "guaranteed" truthful information about "lack of freedom" of the press in Slovakia, which made him decide to "strongly" condemn any means limiting press freedom? I am asking the executive director whether he also turned to organizations of journalists (of which we have two in Slovakia—the Slovak Syndicate of Journalists and the Association of Slovak Journalists) and to journalists who were in opposition under Jozef Moravcik's provisional government. I have serious doubts about it for, otherwise, he would have written about the government's effort to liquidate the opposition daily SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA (which was called REPUBLIKA then), would have protested against the dismissal of TASR Director Dusan Kleiman, and, perhaps, would also have written about the liquidation of editors of SMENA NA NEDELU, the weekend supplement of SMENA. These were persecuted and dismissed because of their different views that were not in conformity with the direction of the daily SMENA, oriented toward the government coalition and, particularly, the Party of the Democratic Left. It seems that the executive director's sources of information are confined to a certain circle of people, people who, unfortunately, are not very favorably disposed toward their own state, the independent Slovak Republic. It would have been appropriate if Mr. W.A. Orme Jr., [CPJ] executive director, had confirmed those things personally before he decided to write a letter to the president of the Slovak Republic. I would like to assure the director that ours is a sovereign state. Yet the feeling emanating from his letter is the same as we had when we were a satellite of Prague and, in particular, Moscow. The executive director is now advising us in the same way—"from above," from New York. I do not know how U.S. President Bill Clinton would have reacted if I, as a representative of the Association of

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Slovak Journalists, had written him a letter in a spirit similar to that of Mr. Orme.

[signed] Peter Strelinger

We publish Slovak President Michal Kovac's reply to the letter in full and without comment:

Esteemed Mr. Director,

I read with full understanding your letter, in which you commented on some personnel changes in Slovak electronic media carried out at the second meeting of the new Slovak parliament, in the night from 3 to 4 November 1994. I thank you for the attention with which you follow developments in the mass media of the Slovak Republic, a young state in the center of Europe seeking to firmly establish the principles of a democratic society, also in the sphere of journalism. The problems with which we contend are problems of youth, and I firmly believe that our country will soon manage to overcome them.

Both Slovak Radio and STV have been public service institutions since 1 July 1991; they were the first such institutions in the countries of the former socialist bloc. We find it all the more deplorable that these pioneers of the principle of independent public media in Central and East Europe now find themselves in a situation that has aroused your concern. Slovak Radio, in particular, has enjoyed a good reputation and a high level of popularity not only among the domestic but also among the foreign public. Its endeavor to be independent of the state executive and political entities became a problem that the political movement that won the largest number of votes in the elections decided to resolve by taking it into its own hands. This act aroused a wave of indignation and disagreement even among the Slovak public and among most political parties.

I, as president of the Slovak Republic, resolutely uphold the positions of defending the independence of journalism and public service electronic media. However, my constitutional powers do not allow me to become directly involved in solving the situation. I am confident, however, that the situation that has occurred in the Slovak Republic after the elections in the sphere of the media is only temporary and that Slovak journalists and mass media institutions will soon be able to operate again on the principles of democracy and pluralism.

With greetings

[signed] Michal Kovac

[Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak on 23 December on page 2, under the headline "Distortion of Slovakia's Image," carries the following statement by the STV Council on President Kovac's letter: "The STV Council is surprised by Slovak President Michal Kovac's reaction to the letter from W.A. Orme Jr. from the Commission for the Protection of Journalists, published in the daily SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA on 22 December 1994. In our opinion, this reaction is not appropriate for a head of state. It comes as a surprise, in particular, in a situation when electronic media are, at long last, taking shape as independent public service institutions that are above party affairs. The STV Council is astonished, in particular, by the concurrence of the president's views with the unfounded claims made by W.A. Orme. In our opinion, the letter by the head of state of the Slovak Republic does not contribute to Slovakia's true image abroad. Moreover, we have doubts as to whether correspondence of this type is customary in international practice."]

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Horn Views Coalition, Government Issues

AU2712181094 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 24 Dec 94 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Prime Minister Gyula Horn by Laszlo H. Biro and Andras Kereszty; place and date not given: "We Need Social Peace for the Future—Prime Minister Horn Speaks About Government, Coalition, and Conflicts"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [NEPSZAVA] The current situation might be more difficult precisely because the ministries of the coalition partner are protected by the coalition agreement. A party discipline cannot be applied in their case. You, as Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] member prime minister, have much less chance of exerting pressure on them in a given situation.

[Horn] Naturally, this agreement makes our daily work more difficult and slower. It is still a current problem that we did not manage to agree on some issues for weeks and months.

[NEPSZAVA] Could you mention some examples?

[Horn] Such issues were, for example, the issue of ombudsmen or the decision on the constitutional judges. And a number of other decisions were delayed for the same reason. This is not good.

[NEPSZAVA] You have said many times that the coalition coordination should be changed in the interest of a more speedy and efficient work. What do you mean by changed?

[Horn] The techniques of the coalition coordination have to be changed because they differ from the original intention. Originally, we said that the Coalition Coordination Council (KET) has to meet if we cannot agree on some issue. However, instead of this, we are holding weekly meetings—which I had agreed to—which are even followed by news conferences. I find this to be a rather bad practice. It is bad because, in my view, many issues are internal matters for the coalition and should not be made public. So we have this practice and I have asked this to be revised. I hope that we can actually change this in January.

[NEPSZAVA] Does publicity do any harm in your view? Does it harm the dialogue of the two coalition parties?

[Horn] According to international practice, after the talks of two sides, each side only informs the public about its own stance. Rather than doing this, here it often happens that the sides interpret the stance of the other side and not always correctly. Although this government promised publicity of affairs, I do not believe that this is contradicted by the fact that some issues are not the public's business before a decision is made. In fact, it is not expedient even to make some completed decisions public immediately, either.

[NEPSZAVA] Was the recent television debate in the "Nap TV" program with coalition Deputy Prime Minister Gabor Kuncze [interior minister] wise?

[Horn] It was not my idea. We had a similar debate precisely one year ago and the editors asked us to repeat it on the anniversary.

[NEPSZAVA] Earlier you were talking about international practice. To what extent does it correspond to international practice for a prime minister to have a debate with his own minister in public, especially when a sharp conflict exists between them at that time?

[Horn] This happens in many countries, particularly where a coalition government exists.

[NEPSZAVA] During this debate, you said that this was the first and last time the coalition deputy was able to criticize your decision in the way he did on the issue of the 13th month wages and the investigation of the [privatization of the] HungarHotels hotel chain. What will you do if Kuncze again says that the prime minister's decision is mistaken?

[Horn] It is impossible to reverse the atmosphere of a one-hour dialogue in a sentence. I already said at the coalition coordination meeting on 20 December that I find this unacceptable. It is unprecedented for a coalition deputy prime minister to say that the prime minister's decision is unfounded and hasty. If this happens again then I will naturally tell the coalition partner that I cannot see this cooperation working any longer.

[NEPSZAVA] With whom can you not see it working, the coalition partner party or the minister concerned?

[Horn] Naturally, I am only talking about the person. This indeed is contrary to all European norms and practice. In reply to this, Kuncze said that yes, he felt his words had been too strong, but the whole national press has not mentioned this. However, his statement—which had been organized because two newspapers printed exactly the same—was unjustified anyway since I had asked the interior minister before my announcement whether there was enough money for the 13th month wages. When he said that there was not, I said that I would consult the finance minister. We had to find a solution to the problem of people who are in a very difficult situation.

[NEPSZAVA] Is there some elementary contradiction in the fact that it is precisely a socialist party that has to build capitalism? This involves such violations of interests which are alien to the socialist viewpoint.

[Horn] The point is what kind of market economy we are building. The MSZP has always maintained that a social market economy has to be implemented, and we also have a fair number of differences of views on this issue with our coalition partner. We are partners in implementing a quick transformation but, contrary to the finance minister, in addition to the economic viewpoints

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I also have to take important political and social factors into consideration. Rather than saying that the stabilization and growth program should be discarded, I am saying that social and political peace has to be preserved in the meantime. And here I have to mention my sad experience that very many studies have recently been made which were completely unrealistic. It is very sad that the predictions of rather many economists who are employed by the state have proved false. I have always laid great emphasis on showing the true situation but also considered it important to show the way forward. However, I have seen many statements and predictions from others in which they depicted a hopeless and depressing situation. This is harmful. This can indeed frighten away the investors. [passage omitted]

[NEPSZAVA] You laid great emphasis on continuing the reinvestigation of privatizations; however, this process is very slow.

[Horn] The privatization committee has indeed been working slowly. It is not a problem that legal violations are rare in these cases; however, very important ethical norms are violated. Usually documents or witnesses do not exist in cases of corruption. We did not expect earth-shaking results; However, the separation of the economic and political intersts at least on the highest level has to be achieved by all means. [passage omitted]

[NEPSZAVA] Do you still believe that it was correct to include trade union leaders in the parliamentary and governmental work?

[Horn] At the time, I very much supported this decision and I still consider it correct. These deputies are excellent experts. For example, Sandor Nagy [chairman of the National Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions] had a major role in the agreement that was achieved in the Interest Coordination Council. And one could hardly wish for a stronger and more prepared minister than [Labor Affairs Minister] Magda Kovacs Kosa.

[NEPSZAVA] Mrs. Istvan Szollosi is also among the trade unionist deputies, and she was rather strongly reprimanded for her organizing the teachers' strike; we can say that she is facing an ultimatum: Either she remains a deputy or organizes strikes.

[Horn] She has a unique personality. We have to acknowledge her style, but limits naturally also exist for her.

[NEPSZAVA] Will we have a social and economic agreement in the near future?

[Horn] I very much hope so. Coordination is under way and we have already managed to agree on very many issues. It is important to have concrete facts in this agreement, like wages, prices, and privatization and employment policy issues because it is only possible to establish a national consensus on the basis of these. We have to construct the institutional system of social partnership. This time we might not succeed in doing this but at least we can prepare it. We need social peace for such major changes. [passage omitted]

[NEPSZAVA] Although you denied having concrete plans for changes, you have indicated that the government's operation has to be reviewed in January and the personnel consequences will have to be drawn where necessary. This seems to be indicated by the fact that you have not nominated a political state secretary in place of Gyorgy Janosi [former political state secretary at Ministry of Education and Culture] and the MSZP has announced its wish to establish "pure" ministries [minister and deputies from same party]. Could you tell us some facts of your assessment in advance?

[Horn] It is not expedient to talk about this issue just now. It is certain that some things will have to be changed but I believe that we can agree on these issues. The work of parliament and the government has to be speeded up and the changes will serve this purpose. As for pure ministries, it is not as simple as that because the MSZP has recently announced its need for the position of political state secretary at the Interior Ministry that is run purely by the Alli[illegible]e of Free Democrats.

[NEPSZAVA] What [illegible]rong with State Secretary Gabor Vilagosi?

[Horn] Who said that there is anything wrong with him? Personally, I hardly know him. The point is that, in view of the results of the local government elections, I believe that the MSZP is justified in requesting to participate in the supervision of one of the most important ministries at least at this level. [passage omitted]

Kuncze Views Coalition 'Conflict' With Horn

AU2812120094 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 27 Dec 94 pp 1, 4

[Unattributed report: "The SZDSZ Is in Favor of a 'Pure' Interior Ministry—Kuncze: My Debate With Horn Is Not Personal"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] According to NEPSZABADSAG's information, the free democrat leaders reject [Prime Minister Gyula Horn's] criticism of Gabor Kuncze [Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ), coalition deputy prime minister and interior minister], they identify with Kuncze, and do not wish to negotiate reallocating ministries because they cannot see any rational reason for doing this. In their view, Kuncze acted correctly in the issue of the 13th month's wages and when he criticized the decision on [reexamining the privatization of] the HungarHotels hotel chain. Many of them believe that it will not be easy for Kuncze to maintain the rational working relationship with the prime minister that has characterized their cooperation for months.

To our correspondent's question whether the coalition debate is getting sharper, Kuncze said the following on 25 December:

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"A conflict does indeed exist now which was sparked off by two specific issues, but which also has a general meaning. The question is to what extent the prime minister coordinated a given issue with the coalition partner before making a decision, and to what extent the ministers have to know his current stance on a given issue. In the view of the Alliance of Free Democrats, it is more favorable to first reach an agreement on an issue and then make it public afterwards. In my personal view, the government members should be aware of the prime minister's views. This will happen if these views are formed mostly at the government sessions, in which case the government will be able to present a united image.

"I also have some remarks to make about Horn's statement indicating a personal conflict. One is that I represent the coalition partner in the government and usually convey the coalition partner's views. Therefore, rather than this being a case of my getting into some kind of personal conflict, in this given situation a conflict has arisen between the two coalition partners. It is worth recalling this when the prime minister makes a statement about my person because, due to the coalition agreement, all kinds of decisions have to be preceded by coalition coordination.

"As for me, I will not keep my opinion to myself in the future, either, just because some kind of prime ministerial will is threatening me. I believe that when I have a different opinion on an issue that has already been made public then I have to express this view to the public. Therefore, I cannot promise that I will conceal my opinion at times of future conflicts. I can say that this was the first time—since it was the first time—but I cannot promise that it will be the last....

"I have to add that I cannot see any personal conflicts between the prime minister and myself. This conflict stems explicitly from the different methods of our assessing the government's work. I would find it favorable for the government to operate as a united team and for the image of its work not to consist of the fights of individuals.

"As for the suggestion regarding the political state secretarial position at the Interior Ministry: At the time the coalition agreement was made, we discussed all the details and made the agreement after taking all viewpoints into consideration. Having to reformulate the details of the coalition agreement after the local government elections was not one of these viewpoints. In our view, there is no reason or need to do this. Therefore, the SZDSZ's reply to this question is no. In addition, what again happened was that the prime minister went public with an issue on which discussions had not even been started.

"Finally I will say that the prime minister said in his interview that he had already mentioned at the coalition coordination council's session that he does not consider it good or acceptable for the government to be criticized here. In this case, it is reasonable to ask how the SZDSZ reacted to this at the session. All I can say is that he remembers incorrectly because he did not raise this issue at this session." [passage omitted]

Party Leaders: Government Coalition Has Future

LD2712212694 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1900 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Socialists [Hungarian Socialist Party, HSP] and the [Alliance of] Free Democrats [SZDSZ] both have the view that the two parties' coalition does have a future. In the radio program "Extra", the HSP and SZDSZ parliamentary group leaders [Imre Szekeres and Ivan Peto] said that the fact that next year's budget was approved in parliament with a large majority is the result of good government cooperation.

Imre Szekeres, Socialist, stressed the country's stability is the interest keeping the coalition together. Ivan Petoe, Free Democrat, said that neither the difference of views between the prime minister [Gyula Horn] and his coalition deputy [Gabor Kuncze], nor the matter of privatization was what represented a conflict between the two government parties. These conflicts arose from the styles of leadership; or rather, they represented a difference of views within the HSP and the government.

HSP Objects to 'Imbalance' Within Coalition

LD2812100694 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0800 GMT 28 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] According to the National Assembly speaker [Zoltan Gal, Hungarian Socialist Party, HSP], it is necessary to appoint a politician from the HSP as a state secretary to the Interior Ministry because of the imbalance in the coalition. In the television program "Daybreak," commenting on Prime Minister Gyula Horn's proposal [to have an HSP state secretary], Zoltan Gal said the HSP had called for this step because it did not trust the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats].

As is known, the SZDSZ objects to the Interior Ministry becoming a ministry with mixed leadership.

According to Gal, part of the mass media is biased toward the coalition partners and it is often more critical of the HSP. He believes that during the government's work, too many issues have been leaked out, which upset society. Therefore, more care should be taken in deciding which issues concern the public.

National Assembly Adopts 1995 Budget

LD2712134594 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1200 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] After a brief vote, the National Assembly has adopted next year's budget. Andras Kerekes reports from the parliament:

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[Kerekes] Nearly 75 percent of the parliamentary deputies voted yes; 83 deputies voted no, and one abstained from voting.

After the vote, Finance Minister Laszlo Bekesi asked for permission to speak. He thanked everybody for the intense work of the past six weeks, which made it possible for the country to run on the basis of an adopted budget. He spoke highly of the opposition's attitude, of their being a partner in procedural issues. He expressed his conviction that the budget would not result in any further worsening of the country's fate. On the contrary, it would enable a revival after a period of transition.

The opposition parties explained their no votes by saying that the budget was not based on any economic program. It unmercifully and steadily took from the people, but one could not see for whom it would provide. It would lead to a considerable deterioration, particularly for large families. [passage omitted]

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Olechowski 'Struck' by Russia's Chechnya Operation

LD2712205894 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1747 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 27 Dec—Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski told journalists on Tuesday that he was "struck by the scale of the Russian operation in Chechnya and Russia's efforts to reestablish the position of a superpower."

Olechowski added that he finds it difficult to take a view "on this phenomenon because, on the one hand, we see no Polish interest whatsoever in the disintegration of the Russian Federation or in any moves that would destabilize that country and, on the other, we are struck by the inefficiency of a system that creates such conditions that the politicians regard it as necessary to utilize means of this type."

"This kind of harsh method of resolving political conflicts inside a country always has to alarm its neighbors," said Olechowski, pointing out the ease of transfer "from the natural method of resolving such issues, which is the political method, to the method of use of force."

Russia's foreign policy was one of the subjects of the Tuesday meeting between Minister Olechowski and Valdis Birkavs, Latvia's deputy prime minister and foreign affairs minister.

Walesa To Send Budgetary Law to Tribunal

LD2812113994 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1105 GMT 28 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] President Lech Walesa is to send the law on the determination of remuneration in the budget-financed sector to the Constitutional Tribunal. As presidential press spokesman Leszek Spalinski told Polish radio, this is his reply to the Sejm's rejection of the president's veto of precisely this law. Spalinski added that the president's resolution on pay in the budget-financed sector will be received by the tribunal by tomorrow at the latest. [passage omitted]

Pay in the budget-financed sector is not dependent upon the level of pay in the production sector; this was the main reason for the president's veto.

Commentary on Walesa, Coalition Budget Dispute

WS2812084594 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 27 Dec 94 p 1

[Commentary by Piotr Zaremba: "Christmas Tree Battles"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The few days between Christmas and New Year's Eve always used to be a season of dead calm in the political world. This year it may be very hot.

Before New Year's Eve, the Constitutional Tribunal will issue a ruling on the tax bill, against which Walesa filed an appeal as part of the game he is playing with the parliament. The president has already announced that he would do the same thing with the bill on earnings in the public sector. Before New Year's Eve, deputies and senators will resume their race with the budget bill. They must hurry—failing to meet the deadline could result in premature elections.

The coalition may surprise everyone by amending the Constitution so as to curb the president's authority to nominate ministers. Such a threat appeared, for the second time, just before Christmas. When it came up previously, last spring, Walesa made a deal with the Democratic Left Alliance.

Everything seems to show that the coalition will win the race and pass the budget bill, together with the tax and salary provisions that the president has been obstructing. Moreover, the tactics of vetoing all major bills proved inefficient; the coalition has in fact a two-thirds majority in the Sejm. Walesa will have several solutions from which to choose.

He may take symbolic action (vetoes, sharp criticism of the government) in response to his shrinking influence on nominating presidential ministers, but not without hopes for reelection. He may reach yet another compromise with the communists. Finally, he may openly violate the law and dissolve parliament under any pretext, if only that introducing provisions on taxes and salaries in the public sector to the budget bill was illegal, thus implying the budget was not passed.

That choice, however, will be made by the president after New Year's Eve.

Minister Interviewed on Privatization Future

WS2712151594 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Dec 94 pp 1, 7

[Interview with Privatization Minister Wieslaw Kaczmarek by Ada Kostrz-Kostecka; place and date not given: "What Privatization Needs Most Is Common Sense"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Kostrz-Kostecka] The National Investment Fund [NFI] project has been fully launched, the bill on the financial restructuring of enterprises and banks has been forcing indebted state enterprises to privatize. Will quantity become a new quality, and will privatization be dominated by new methods of ownership transformationsin 1995?

[Kaczmarek] I have the impression that 1995 may mark the peak of capital privatization, following which the trend will decline slightly. Privatization will be dominated by two mass privatization projects: the NFI and Stabilization-Restructuralization-Privatization [SRP].

[Kostrz-Kostecka] The SRP project, however, applies to fewer than 100 enterprises.

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[Kaczmarek] I believe it will become more widespread. The NFI project still faces many problems that have to be solved—for instance, assigning companies to the funds, which requires amending statutes. Ownership supervision over these companies has to be relinquished, and share capital of the funds has to be increased by conferred company shares. If, however, liabilities were to be converted into shares on the basis of banking agreements and other methods of transforming liabilities into ownership rights were employed, it might actually turn out to be one of the dominating tendencies in privatization—maybe not in quality, but definitely in quantity.

[Kostrz-Kostecka] Let us discuss capital privatization: revenues, projected at over 15 trillion zlotys [Z], are greater than ever before. Are you not afraid that the ministry will be unable to attain them?

[Kaczmarek] There were always fears, ever since the privatization process began, but right now we are really aiming quite high. I will not hide the fact that the success of the project depends on whether we privatize the tobacco industry in time. I am counting on the cooperation of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Economy in this respect.

[Kostrz-Kostecka] Meanwhile, the project has not yet been approved.

[Kaczmarek] We have been facing huge difficulties lately. After the last round of negotiations, the minister of agriculture came forth with some criticism, and I hope that the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers [KERM] will settle the issue. Having laid down the rules, we could begin privatizing tobacco enterprises. The remaining privatization projects pertain, for instance, to the cement industry, the soda industry, the electricity industry, and Winiary [foodstuff plant]. I do not know whether we will manage to begin privatizing huge trade and distribution companies, such as the Wholesale Food Enterprise [PHS], the Centrum department stores, or Ruch [press distribution cooperative network] in 1995. We also have the entire nonferrous metal industry, with three strong companies: Hutmen, Kety, and Konin. If we add to that the privatization of Impexmetal and many smaller enterprises, we may well make the Z15 trillion, under the condition that the projects are carried out swiftly, efficiently, and without any obstacles. Pressure of various sorts and lobbying cause the implementation of the projects to stretch out over time, as was the case of the mine in Osiecznica.

We are planning eight to 10 public offers. We will present a full list at the beginning of January because not everything is ready yet. In the case of several enterprises, such as Konin SA, Kety, Ruch, Browary Wielkopolski [Wielkopolska Breweries], the cement works in Gorazdze, the steelworks in Olawa, Pollena Warszawa [cosmetics factory], the Centrum department stores, and Winiary, apart from involving a strategic investor, we are planning to sell some of the shares in public offers. These are huge companies with brand names, and the public offers should be a success.

[Kostrz-Kostecka] There can be no external or internal reasons for delays if these privatization projects are to be implemented. Meanwhile, the head of the capital privatization department is leaving, and his successor will need time to catch up with current developments. This will, naturally, cause a holdup.

[Kaczmarek] Coming to the ministry, I intended to carry out certain internal changes. Then they were dropped, through no fault of ours but because there were plans to establish a new structure—the Ministry of the State Treasury and Privatization. Suspending reorganization in the ministry caused the situation, for example, in which we still do not have an economic or information and promotion departments. People in the ministry are so overloaded with work that they can carry on like that for a year or a year and a half. Besides, they acquire experience here, so they are very much in demand in the job market, especially because salaries are not very high. Sometimes I strongly regret that I am losing very valuable employees. Therefore, our projects for 1995 will in fact pose a challenge for the ministry, where staff rotation is 30 percent.

[Kostrz-Kostecka] Commercialization is a separate issue. The ongoing debate causes enterprises to either wait with privatization or be completely confused because they do not know what to expect.

[Kaczmarek] Creating the impression that the project will solve all of the problems does cause considerable confusion. The project should already be in full swing, although many of the enterprises waiting to implement it could begin privatizing on the basis of already existing regulations. The only problem is that certain differences of opinion have to be eliminated. The divergencies pertain to ownership rights exercised by officials representing the State Treasury in enterprises transformed into companies on the basis of the commercial code. There should be a mechanism in place that would be in line with the code of commerce and not the code of administrative procedures. If, on the other hand, we assume that ownership rights are dispersed and ownership functions are performed by the founding bodies, a clear and effective procedure for implementing privatization must be laid down by the minister of privatization because there is a threat that various privatization procedures could be introduced in various founding bodies. The third problem pertains to the overall philosophy of direct privatization. Currently, state enterprises are dissolved and then assigned to a company, leased to an employee-run company, or put up for tender as quickly as possible. If the structure of the state enterprise is destroyed, I fear that these most popular privatization methods will disappear. Commercialization should be implemented, but the question remains as to how to do it and at what pace.

[Kostrz-Kostecka] There are two more issues that have not been settled this year. First, the privatization map...

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[Kaczmarek] I do not know the term "privatization map." There is no such term in any of the official documents.

[Kostrz-Kostecka] Let us say it is a cliche but is used quite often to describe this year's state privatization policy. There is such a provision in the "Privatization Trends" for this year.

[Kaczmarek] Such materials were recently analyzed by KERM, meaning that they will be put before the Council of Ministers once amendments are made. They discuss methods by which the state can control particular enterprises and entire branches of the economy. Currently, the document remains in the hands of the Central Planning Administration. It contains our conclusions and experience to a large extent. We do not have any objections to it.

[Kostrz-Kostecka] The second issue is privatization.

[Kaczmarek] Work on the government project has been suspended. The project is now at the disposal of the Council of Ministers, and the privatization minister cannot do anything. If the government or heads of the political groups currently ruling Poland issue new instructions, we are prepared to carry on our work. I hope this problem is settled in 1995. The situation is unfavorable because many of the people who awaited the bill may now file cases on the basis of the code of administrative procedures. This means that they might have to be compensated in kind or by financial indemnities, and the budgets of the particular ministries do not have the necessary means for that at the moment.

[Kostrz-Kostecka] On what are you counting most of all in 1995?

[Kaczmarek] On a coalition of common sense for privatization.

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Iliescu Assesses Legacy of 1989 Revolution

AU2412202994 Bucharest DIMINEATA SUPPLEMENT in Romanian 20 Dec 94 pp 1, 3, 4

[Interview with President Ion Iliescu by the Timisoara daily RENASTEREA BANATEANA on 16 December; place not given: "No Person or Grouping Has the Right To Exclusively Assume the Romanian Revolution for Themselves, As This Would Be Tantamount To Defying Both the Martyrs and the Social Ensemble That Unreservedly Joined the December 1989 Movement"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [RENASTEREA BANATEANA] What is the message that Romanian President Ion Iliescu is extending to the inhabitants of Timisoara on the fifth anniversary of the revolution?

[Iliescu] First of all, I would like to thank you for offering me the opportunity to convey—now, on the fifth anniversary of the revolution—my ardent homage to all inhabitants of Timisoara, the city where the revolt against the totalitarian Communist regime broke out on 16-17 December 1989, a revolt that a few days later turned into the Romanian revolution. [passage omitted]

I believe the time has come to leave partisan options aside—at least for a moment—and to reflect on the goals of the revolution and the political, economic, and social realities after five years of profound changes. I say this because too many fables are being spun around the Romanian revolution, with some people even contesting the fact that a revolution took place, insinuating that it was a mere palace coup and coming up with all kinds of scenarios, while others claim that the revolution was preempted. I consider these fables nothing more than acts of impiety and lack of respect for the Romanian revolution and for those who risked and gave their lives in the days and nights of December 1989. [passage omitted]

If we are correct and objective—primarily with ourselves—we cannot fail to ascertain that, despite all obstacles, the key targets of the revolution were fulfilled: The dictatorship was overthrown and democracy was established. The monopoly of a single party was removed and a multiparty system was introduced. Full freedom of express oneself, to organize and to demonstrate was established; the rigid, centralized economic system was eliminated, and prospects for building a viable market economy were opened.

Of course, there are still great economic difficulties facing us; therefore, I believe that the Romanian people's strength and moral force, which have made it possible for the revolution to triumph, should be further mobilized in order to rapidly overcome the hardships of the transition. [passage omitted] There are many other unresolved problems, too. However, the framework for their resolution—namely a representative democracy—has been created and is functioning. Even though this framework still needs improving and the performance of a part of the political class is still disappointing, I believe that the practice of democracy and institutional mechanisms will gradually eliminate all these shortcomings.

As I have already said, a change as profound as the Romanian revolution—with its basic consequences in the political, economic, social, and mental spheres, was bound to create disruption in the economic and human relations in general, something that led to a temporary decrease not only in the economic field but in overall performance. This phenomenon was manifest in all the formerly socialist countries without exception. [passage omitted] Five years after the revolution, I can now say that we all have reasons to look forward to the future with confidence. There has been an accumulation of elements in the past five years that constitute a good launching pad for the new stage. [passage omitted]

[RENASTEREA BANATEANA] Mr. President, how do you view—today, with hindsight—the execution of the Ceausescu couple [former Communist dictator Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife Elena]? If you were a judge in the Ceausescu trial today, and capital punishment were still in force, would you sentence them to it?

[Iliescu] I do not think we pass judgment today on those events without taking into consideration the concrete data and real situation at the time. The trial and the sentence were adopted as a function of the events of those days, when there was a popular explosion against Ceausescu and his supporters. If the Ceausescu couple had been caught on 22 December 1989 at the headquarters of the Central Committee [of the Romanian Communist Party], they would have certainly been lynched. The sniping that broke out that same day in the evening exacerbated the hatred against the tyrant, who was rightly considered the person mainly responsible for the suffering experienced by the people over the past nine years, as well as for other acts of repression.

The decision to organize the trial against the Ceausescu couple at the Targoviste barracks, where they were detained, was reached under the dramatic circumstances of a time when, as we well recall, the ongoing armed confrontations were causing the death of many people. I have already said that from a political viewpoint, it would have been preferable to hold a public trial under normal conditions. At the time, however, we were afraid of the unforeseeable consequences of a possible release of the couple, as well as that they would be lynched by the people had the people found out where they were being held.

As we know, the death penalty has been abrogated. This is an achievement of the Romanian revolution and an expression of its popular and profoundly humanist nature. In a way, one might say that the death sentence was not the harshest and most deserved punishment for the Ceausescu couple. Maybe they should have lived on to see how the people are judging them.

[RENASTEREA BANATEANA] How would you characterize Romania's political, economic, and social evolution in the past five years?

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[Iliescu] From a political viewpoint, I believe we have reached a reasonable degree of normalcy. I would like to mention just a few elements: political pluralism, free elections, the separation of powers in the government, the limitation of the number of mandates for political leaders, the elimination of ideological dogma from education and culture, freedom of the press, public control over the national radio and television stations, the rights of national minorities, and the rights of the citizenry to travel freely. All this amounts to a radical change in Romanian society, in the spirit of the requirements of the revolution. [passage omitted]

From an economic viewpoint, the phenomena are inevitably unfolding at a slower pace, since the inertia here is bigger. Nevertheless, we have registered noteworthy results in stabilizing the course of the national currency, substantially reducing inflation, redressing agricultural production, relaunching exports, ensuring an even balance of payments, and relaunching economic growth—which is still far from normal, after the dramatic production decrease that has continued from 1990 to last year. However, these results are the preliminary conditions for a realistic tackling of the great target, which is the restructuring of the economy.

If 1993 marked the lowest point of the economic decline and the start of recovery, 1995 will be the year of the great privatization. Let us not forget that, even now, 30 percent of the national product stems from the private sector and one-third of the manpower is employed in this new sector, which emerged after 1990. Despite objective difficulties and artificial obstacles raised by bureaucracy and corruption, the private sector has now become a significant component of the national economy. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] How would you characterize the current political moment?

[Iliescu] Although the electorate and public opinion have outgrown the rigidness, intolerance, and excessive polarization of the first years, the same cannot be said of the political class in general, where antagonistic poles and mentalities specific to the period 1990-91 still prevail. Enmity toward the political adversary, the rejection of dialogue and cooperation, the lack of clarity in doctrine, and the lack of a clear and coherent program are compensated by a single desideratum, which could be translated: "You should give up your seat so I can take it!" Nevertheless, one can say that, compared to the first part of 1990, the political confrontation is no longer taking place in the streets, with "arguments" of physical violence, but in the parliament and the press—which is very good. Unfortunately, there are still enough manifestations of immaturity and of totally inadequate and vulgar language based on insults and trivialities and a cholerical-apocalyptic tone that nothing to do with the requirements of a civilized political confrontation. I believe that we should all learn the meaning of the democratic exercise and overcome this state of intolerance by virtue of which political adversaries are also considered personal enemies. [passage omitted]

Regardless of our opinions, it is essential to put the national interest above everything else. In this respect, all political forces and politicians should cooperate and participate—in a civilized climate of mutual respect—in a constant and open dialogue on the basic problems of Romanian society. This is the meaning of consolidating democracy.

[RENASTEREA BANATEANA] What are the dangers to the Romanian political scene and society?

[Iliescu] I am primarily thinking of the danger of the dissolution of moral criteria in politics. One notices a worrisome increase in the number of opportunists in our political life and in public life in general. [passage omitted] Anti-communism has become a life-buoy for certain people who served Communism and profited from it. By accusing everybody of neo-, crypto-, or other kinds of communism, all these neo-anti-Communists are striving to make people forget their own past. By accusing others, they hope to avoid being accused themselves—since you cannot be both prosecutor and defendant in a trial, can you? [passage omitted]

Another danger for Romanian society is extremism. The economic difficulties give birth to extremisms, which in turn nurture one another. Europe is currently experiencing a revival of extremisms. The recent report submitted by the Romanian Intelligence Service to parliament rings an alarm bell about this danger in our country as well. [passage omitted] However, the Romanian society of today has more means to cope with extremism than it had three or four years ago. First of all, it has an institutional system based on the Constitution, which was adopted by referendum. Second, mentalities have evolved toward tolerance and a better understanding of the democratic mechanisms, which rely on the majority principle. Third, we expect to have an economic recovery soon. [passage omitted]

Iliescu Denies 1989 Revolution Was 'Palace Coup'

AU2612170194 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 20 Dec 94 p 2

[Statements by President Ion Iliescu to unidentified journalists in Bucharest on 16 December]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Correspondent] What is your opinion about the questions put to you by the commission?

[Iliescu] As far as I am concerned, no question can be delicate or difficult for me, particularly on such a subject, one I have dealt with pretty comprehensively in my recently published book "The Revolution and Reform." The dialogue revolved around these issues and I especially aired some of my concerns about the ongoing campaign of slander against the Romanian revolution. [passage omitted]

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[Correspondent] Do you believe the commission's report will reveal the much-longed-for truth?

[Iliescu] That is what they say! But then, the people are waiting for a very simple answer to the question: "Who fired on us?" But this is not something that can be elucidated by this commission, since it is not easy to find answers to such questions. The whole issue is much too complicated, so it is not easy to find such answers. However, the problem is another one: namely, to make an analysis of the true meaning of the Romanian revolution, including of the sacrifices and mistakes made in those moments. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Mr. President, did you discuss with the commission members the allegations made by Filip Teodorescu [former deputy chief of the Counterespionage Service during Nicolae Ceausescu's rule] about the revolution's being a coup d'etat?

[Iliescu] The commission members denied that Filip Teodorescu said anything like that. I was also surprised to hear of those allegations. [passage omitted] Later I heard that he actually did not even say such a thing. It would have been pretty stupid to believe that Iliescu was behind such a thing. Iliescu? Who was Iliescu at that time? Could he have...? Anyhow, this is not the first time that people attribute supernatural powers to me, claiming that I triggered those events and that I was capable of and actually did all those things! This is all silly, including the accusations leveled at me by the newspaper ZIUA, which claims that it was not a revolution but a palace coup—a plot, or something like that.

I wish there had been such a possibility in Romania: namely, to remove Ceausescu by a coup. We would have thus avoided the sacrifices generated by that social explosion, which could have led to even greater tragedy: chaos, anarchy, and civil war in Romania. However, certain scandalmongering journalists are irresponsibly turning such a serious subject, which truly concerns Romanian society, into low-level gossip, incriminations, accusations, calumny, and slander. This is certainly unworthy of a journalist, if he can call himself that....

Iliescu Denies Seeking Soviet Assistance in 1989

AU2612180394 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 20 Dec 94 p 2

[Article by O. Iurascu: "President Iliescu Accused Generals Guse and Hortopan of False Testimony"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Valentin Gabrielescu, president of the "December 1989" parliamentary commission, said yesterday, 19 December, at the news conference of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNTCD] that the senators on the commission who belong to the parliamentary majority tried to prevent President Ion Iliescu from appearing before the commission on the pretext that such a hearing would be unconstitutional or improper. Senator Gabrielescu said the president's hearing, last Friday [16 December], proceeded in two stages: First, the president made a "beautiful speech of over an hour"; in the second part, the opposition senators asked him "delicate" questions. The president was asked if on the evening of 22 or 23 December —as testified to under oath by Generals Guse [Stefan Guse, in December of 1989 chief of staff] and Hortopan [in 1989 chief of the Infantry and Land Forces Section of the Ministry of National Defense]—he had asked for Soviet assistance. According to the aforementioned witnesses, the president had, in their presence, asked for a brigade of Soviet paratroopers.

Gabrielescu said that, before the commission, President Iliescu categorically denied the allegation and accused the two generals of false testimony. The senator added that the president's statements to the effect that the foreign terrorists did not exist raise a question about the reasons for the execution of the Ceausescu couple.

As regards the file on the Ceausescu trial, Iliescu said he ddoes not know where it is. Gabrielescu said the final report of the enquiry cannot be unanimous because of contradictory testimony written down in the dossier. He also mentioned that, during the president's hearing, a political argument arose between certain members of the commission and the head of state, who blamed the members of the PNTCD for the "University Square sit-in [in 1991] and the Molotov cocktails." Mr. Gabrielescu commented: "Maybe the president retains these ideas from his childhood. PNTCD may be his obsession. He probably thinks we are fascists. If he still believes in what he said, no consensus is possible."

Iliescu Chairs Meeting on Military Education

AU2712152994 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] President Ion Iliescu chaired a meeting of the Supreme Defense Council today. The meeting examined the National Defense Ministry report on the reorganization and modernization of the military education process. The participants estimated that this action is part and parcel of the overall measures to restructure and modernize the Army, a package approved by the Supreme Defense Council.

The envisaged reorganization and modernization aims at integrating military education into the national education system as stipulated by the law, and at projecting and achieving a performance-oriented education. On the basis of observations and proposals made during the meeting, the Council suggested that the Ministry of National Defense should complete the reorganization blueprint, after which the final document will be implemented within the Army.

The Supreme Defense Council endorsed the program of research, design, and assimilation of new types of military technology, a program worked out on the basis of the Army supply plan up to the year 2000, which was

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adopted at the its October 1994 meeting. The Council assessed that the program establishes the Army's priority research subjects—in keeping with the principles of Romania's defense military doctrine—which should be fulfilled either domestically or through cooperation with foreign partners with a view to researching, assimilating, and producing military technology compatible with that of the armies of the countries belonging to the European and Euro-Atlantic security organizations, which our country wants to join.

The Supreme Defense Council also examined a report on the organization and implementation of guard and supervisory actions at national borders and a report on firearms control in Romania. Special emphasis was laid on unusual situations regarding illegal border crossings; the illegal introduction of various types of arms, ammunition, toxic and radioactive substances, and printed material and literature that can harm our national security; and various violations of firearms control regulations. The Council came to the conclusion that measures should be taken in this connection to improve the equipment of border troops, modernize the border crossing points, and increase their control efficiency, and to adjust the legislative framework of firearms control regulations to current requirements, concurrently with enhancing control over the sale, possession, and use of arms, ammunition, and explosive substances.

The Supreme Defense Council then approved the holding of negotiations on basic agreements regarding cooperation between Romania's Ministry of National Defense and the relevant ministries in the Republic of Austria and the Republic of Egypt. At the end of the meeting, the Council also resolved various other current problems in accordance with its law-stipulated prerogatives.

The communique faxed to us by the Supreme Defense Council extends, to all those serving Romania's basic interests in the Army and all the country's people, best wishes for health, prosperity, and a happy New Year.

Leader Views Party's Achievements on Anniversary

AU2412172794 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 22 Dec 94 p 8

[Interview with Bela Marko, chairman of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania, by Tibor Bogdan; place and date not given: "Under the Umbrella of the RMDSZ—On Illusions Without Illusions"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ—UDMR in Romanian], the first real representation of the ethnic Hungarians in Romania, was created five years ago in the hopeful ferment of the events thought at the time to be revolutionary. RMDSZ chairman Bela Marko gave us an interview on the occasion of the anniversary.

[Bogdan] What did these five years bring, in the life of the RMDSZ?

[Marko] If I wanted to formulate a concise answer, I would say that these five years have meant everything. These five years have been the life of the RMDSZ itself. They have brought many illusions and the dissipation of many illusions, but also the certainty that the RMDSZ has succeeded in staying united and able to represent what it had agreed to represent from the outset: the interests of the ethnic Hungarian community in Romania.

[Bogdan] If you were to prepare a balance sheet on the achievements and failures of these five years, in your opinion, what would this balance sheet show?

[Marko] One of our major achievements is the fact that the ethnic Hungarian community in Romania has a body that represents its interests, and that this organization has been able to hold an umbrella—even if a patched-up one—over this community; and that various civilian initiatives, foundations, associations, organizations, and institutions have been able to develop, which now make the 2 million ethnic Hungarians living here a community. This is one side of the balance sheet. The other side contains a lot of failures. Examining the legislation of the past five years and the new Constitution, we must say that there has been no progress regarding national minority rights; on the contrary, we can see even a regression in some cases. How much of this blame can be attributed to the RMDSZ and how much to the given domestic and foreign policy context is another matter. The democratization process in Romania, a process that we hoped would be a fast one, has come to a sudden halt and has regressed. As for the international circumstances, although the settling of the national minority and ethnic issue is presented as a constant demand and intention—particularly in the regions that emerged from dictatorships—international and European politics have not yet really found the solutions, and the Yugoslav example proves this. If we look at the self-determination process of these past five years, we must realize how difficult it was to achieve a relatively mature concept and a common image of the future. Here I mean primarily the uniform RMDSZ program, that particular autonomy view. Of course, in a certain sense, this was the price of unity. It is more difficult to coordinate concepts and reach a consensus in multifaceted organizations with various opinions and differing ideologies. This can also be regarded as a disadvantage. At the same time, however, common action and common political activity represent a tremendous advantage.

[Bogdan] Can we also list, among the dissipated illusions, the RMDSZ's hopes as regards its allies among the Romanian democratic opposition?

[Marko] We have never entertained the illusion of attaining perfect understanding rapidly, as regards our specific situation and goals—not even with the democratic opposition in Romania—because one can see how

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one or another representative of this opposition uses nationalist rhetoric. But our illusion that the opposition would be able to gain strength quickly and win over the majority has dissipated. However, I do not think that it was an illusion that we had, and we all still have a common interest in creating an overall democratic framework. To also answer the other question: I think the problem cannot be tackled in such simple terms. It is, however, certain that we would still have dilemmas if the opposition were to come to power, because we would only be able to participate in the government if we could agree on a specific national minority program, including its implementation.

[Bogdan] Has the change in the Hungarian Government brought any changes in the life of the RMDSZ? How would you describe the relations between the RMDSZ and the Horn cabinet?

[Marko] We have repeatedly declared our basic principle, according to which the issue of the ethnic Hungarians living beyond Hungary's borders is a pan-national interest that cannot be divided up among various parties and ideologies. Therefore, we expect the current Hungarian Government to support our goals. It is well known that questions emerged and concerns were openly formulated during the elections and after the new coalition took office; this is why we thought the consultations held in recent months were important. We must admit that there have been differences in views on certain issues, but not with the government coalition as a whole. As a result of this coordination of opinions, however, we have succeeded in dissipating doubts such as those having to do with the existence of Duna Television and with the autonomy concept.

[Bogdan] In conclusion, let me ask you a question having to do with the future: The RMDSZ will hold its fourth congress in May of next year and a new chairman will be elected there. Will Bela Marko be on the list of candidates?

[Marko] I have not yet made a decision on this matter. Besides, the decision does not depend on me alone. It also depends on my colleagues in the various leading bodies of the RMDSZ, to the extent to which I will be needed in the future to fill this position, and, obviously, on how I judge the issue.

PUNR Leader Proposes Measures Against UDMR

AU2312184594 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 20 Dec 94 p 3

[National Romanian Unity Party "Communique" signed by party chairman Gheorghe Funar; issued in Cluj-Napoca on 19 December 1994]

[FBIS Translated Text] The National Romanian Unity Party [PUNR] appreciates the firm and resolute position of the Romanian Government in reacting to the declarations and appeals issued by the council of representatives of the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] that congregated recently at Cluj-Napoca.

In response to the declaration issued by the Romanian Government, the UDMR was sufficiently brazen to issue a crazy reply, trying to deceive public opinion once more by invoking a so-called translation error.

Considering that the UDMR actions directed against constitutional order and the interests of the Romanian nation have intensified both in the country and in the Republic of Moldova, the PUNR requests, among other things:

1. Romania's president and parliament, as well as the government of the country, should inform every European body about the recent actions undertaken by the UDMR and about the peril the party represents for the stability of this part of Europe.

2. When parliament resumes its activity following the recess, the Romanian Government should present a report at the plenum on the way in which it implemented the lawmakers' decision, referring to the Covasna-Harghita Report.

3. The Court of Accounts of Romania should urgently look into the way in which the UDMR spent public money during the period 1990-1994.

4. The Romanian Government should issue rulings forbidding political activities in schools and churches.

5. Parliament should make a decision, by means of an emergency procedure, as regards the law ordering the collecting of firearms, ammunition, and explosives currently owned illegally by the population. So far, large quantities of arms and ammunition have been introduced into Romania, and they are now in the possession of physical persons, especially ethnic Hungarians.

6. Parliament should finalize the text of the oath of loyalty to be taken by each of Romania's deputies and senators.

7. The inclusion of the UDMR parliamentarians in official Romanian delegations should be suspended until they declare their loyalty to the Romanian state.

8. As a political party carrying out its activities in Romania, the UDMR should issue its declarations, appeals, and protests in the official language of the state: Romanian.

9. National and local radio and television stations should not allot to Hungarians air time in excess of 7 percent of their total air time, a percentage corresponding to the proportion of the ethnic Hungarians compared to the entire population of Romania.

10. Publications in the Hungarian language, which have been and are conducting an anti-Romanian policy, should no longer be financed from the state budget.

11. The MONITORUL OFICIAL AL ROMANIEI should no longer be printed in the Hungarian language, as this lacks any juridical basis.

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Former Minister Appointed UN Mission Adviser

AU2712193194 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Lieutenant General Niculae Spiroiu, former minister of national defense, will leave for New York tomorrow morning to take up his post as military adviser with Romania's permanent mission at the United Nations. This post has the diplomatic rank of minister-counselor.

In an interview granted to our colleague Nicu Popescu, Gen. Spiroiu said that given the fact that about 30 nations have sent military advisers to their missions in New York; that Romania has participated in various missions in the Gulf following after the Kuwaiti-Iraqi war, and in Somalia; and that the UN secretary general recently launched a peace agenda, the Romanian Government has deemed it necessary to have a military adviser at its UN mission. In the same interview, Gen. Spiroiu said that he will provide advice both as regard various peacekeeping missions and as regards would-be requests for intervention under UN auspices.

Romania is the first Central European country that will have a military adviser at its permanent mission at the United Nations.

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Sarajevo Radio Rounds Up Fighting in Bihac

AU2812103394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 28 Dec 94

[Report by Muhamed Mulic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Text] The united aggressors are not observing the cease-fire within the theater of operations of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps. Provocations from all types of arms are growing frequent, not merely along the border with the occupied parts of Croatia but also on other fronts in the Bihac region.

Several infantry and antiaircraft arms' provocations have been noted yesterday and in the course of the night, parallel to the use of armor-piercing weapons around Bihac safe haven, especially on the Debeljaca Hill and in the Zegari area.

There was no peace elsewhere either—around the Klokot spring, Izacic, and Bugar. Several explosions coupled with frequent enemy infantry provocations were registered along the entire separation line on the Grabez elevation and on the Grmusa-Srbljani plateau. In this part of the battlefield and also around Bosanska Krupa the aggressor used artillery, especially mortars of all calibers.

Fierce battles also continued around Velika Kladusa, in [words indistinct] in the area of Jovici and [word indistinct]. The 5th Corps soldiers successfully thwarted the attacks by paramilitary formations of Fikret Abdic and Martic's chetniks.

UNPROFOR Claims Combat Down 90-95 Percent

AU2712152694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] General Rose yesterday held informal talks with the representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government and the representatives of the Serbian aggressor side on the four-month cease-fire agreement. This was stated by Alexander Ivanko, representative of the civil sector of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] in Bosnia-Herzegovina, at a news conference this morning. Ivanko described the talks as preliminary talks, stressing that after these consultations, Gen. Rose would offer a new draft agreement in two or three days. Ivanko described the cease-fire as successful so far.

In Bosnia-Herzegovina as a whole, combat has been reduced by about 90-95 percent in comparison with the period immediately prior to the signing of the cease-fire agreement. Nine detonations were registered around the Grabez plateau. There are still minor violations of the cease-fire. However, if these are to be registered in timely fashion, and if the reports are to be filed as to who has violated the cease-fire, it is necessary for UNPROFOR to have the full freedom of movement guaranteed by all participants in the conflict, and not only by the signatories of the document, Ivanko said.

The representative of UNPROFOR's civil sector briefed journalists on another form of the aggressor's violation of the cease-fire. UNPROFOR is still experiencing restrictions regarding the fuel convoys. This can be viewed as the violation of one of the provisions of the agreement. We need to have stocks of fuel for at least seven days. Karadzic's Serbs are still not allowing us that, even though that have agreed that the would do so. It is very important to understand that we cannot monitor how the cease-fire is observed if we are not on the spot, and we cannot be on the spot if we do not have fuel for our vehicles, Alexander Ivanko said. [passage omitted]

Muslim Clashes Reported Near Velika Kladusa

LD2812115494 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1126 GMT 28 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Petrovac [Bosanski Petrovac], 28 Dec (SRNA)—Fighting between members of the people's defense of western Bosnia and the 5th Corps of the Muslim army, loyal to the authorities in Sarajevo, has intensified over the past 24 hours.

The same source states that the heaviest clashes are raging south of Velika Kladusa where Fikret Abdic's forces are advancing toward Cazin and Bihac.

Velkaton Radio has reported that General Michael Rose, the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] commander for ex-Bosnia-Herzegovina, is expected to visit the Bihac region today. He is tasked with securing an agreement on putting an end to the inter-Muslim clashes.

Army Soldiers Reportedly Captured Near Bihac

LD2712181394 Sarajevo Radio Republike Srpske Program for Abroad in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Over the last 24 hours, members of the 5th Corps, loyal to the Muslim government in Sarajevo, launched several artillery and infantry attacks against the new positions established in the Velika Kladusa sector of the front by the members of people's defense of western Bosnia, Velkaton radio reported today.

According to the same source members of the people's defense repelled all attacks successfully and inflicted considerable losses in manpower and military equipment on the 5th Corps. Velkaton radio said that around 100 soldiers loyal to Izetbegovic were taken prisoner on this occasion.

Serbian Radio: Only Serbs Respecting Cease-Fire

LD2712173394 Sarajevo Radio Republike Srpske Program for Abroad in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The cease-fire agreement on all fronts in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, which has been in force since 24 December, is still being consistently respected only by the Serb side. The headquarters of the

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army of the Srpska republic has officially informed the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] headquarters in Zagreb and Sarajevo of this and demanded that the Muslim and Croat side be given a serious warning that by continuing combat activities they are endangering the whole peace process.

The Srpska headquarters also points out that over the past 24 hours Muslim units have opened fire from many directions on Serb defense positions using infantry and antiaircraft weapons, guns with sights, and mortars, while attacks by units of the Army of the Republic of Croatia have been continuing on Serb settlements in the area of Grahovo and Glamoc; they have been assisted in this by Croatian Defense Council formations using multiple-rocket launchers, tanks, and artillery pieces.

Croatian Attacks Reported

LD2712202894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2001 GMT 27 Dec 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zvornik, Dec. 27 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Serb army said Tuesday [27 December] that combined Croatia's and the Bosnian Croat troops have continued attacks on Bosnian Serbs in central and southern Bosnia.

Bosnian Serb army sources said the attacks on their positions and Bosnian Serb settlements have now abated.

The sources said the Bosnian Serb defenses have been attacked in the area of the central Bosnian towns of Srbobran and Komar and around the town of Trebinje in southern Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The sources said Bosnian Muslim troops were regrouping in the Muslim-held Sarajevo districts. The Muslims were reported as fortifying their positions and continuing largescale engineering operations.

The sources said the Bosnian Muslim troops opened small arms fire on the Bosnian Serb defenses in the wider area of the town of Doboj, in northern Bosnia.

A seven-day ceasefire agreement, brokered by the United Nations special envoy Yasushi Akashi, was separately signed by the Bosnian Serb and Muslim officials on Friday.

The ceasefire agreement came into effect at noon on Saturday.

The combined Croatia's and the Bosnian Croat troops that had attacked the Bosnian Serb republic have not been observing the ceasefire agreement and resumed attacks on the Bosnian Serb army positions and settlements.

Army Reports Serbian Attacks on Gorazde

AU2712191394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Serbian-Montenegrin and Karadzic's chetniks have continued attacks on the Gorazde protected area. According to the latest information of the East Bosnian Operations Group of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the aggressor today fired on the defense lines and the settlements around Gorazde with antiaircraft weapons and small arms. The chetniks opened particularly fierce fire on Hrenovica. Vitkovici was significantly quieter in comparison with recent days.

The Gorazde Center for Social Work is taking all the necessary measures to help over 5,000 people who live in impossible conditions. It is also appealing to the humanitarian organizations at home and abroad for help. This was reported by Mustafa Kurtovic from the Press Center of the Gorazde region. [passage omitted]

Rose Flies to Bihac; Seeks To Extend Cease-Fire

AU2812104594 Paris AFP in English 1022 GMT 28 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Dec 28 (AFP)—UN Bosnia commander Lieutenant-General Sir Michael Rose was to fly Wednesday [28 December] to the mainly-Moslem enclave of Bihac to try to extend the current Bosnian ceasefire to the battleground enclave, UN officials said here.

Fighting in the pocket between Bosnian Army troops and forces loyal to the rebel Moslem leader Fikret Abdic and his Croatian Serb allies, has threatened a Bosnia-wide ceasefire which entered its fifth day Wednesday.

The Bosnian Government has accused Bosnian Serbs of joining in the attacks, a claim dismissed by the United Nations.

UN negotiators led by Rose have until January 1 to secure agreement from the warring parties to convert the ceasfire into a four-month cessation of hostilities agreement, which would involve the interpositioning of UN troops between the belligerents.

If the two sides fail to reach agreement, the ceasefire is due to remain in place until the end of April.

However, the Bosnian Government has warned it will not respect the truce unless Abdic and his allies cease attacks in the Bihac pocket, notably around the town of Velika Kladusa.

UN officials said Rose flew Wednesday to the Croatian coastal town of Split and was to travel on from there to Bihac.

It was "possible" that Rose would meet Abdic, the renegade businessman who controlled Bihac until August when the Moslem-led Bosnian Army's Fifth Corps routed his forces, UN Protection Force spokesman Colum Murphy said Wednesday.

Abdic and the Croatian Serbs did not sign the pre-Christmas ceasefire accord agreed in Sarajevo last week by the Bosnian Government and Bosnian Serbs.

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Bosnian Vice-President Ejup Ganic reiterated Tuesday recent warnings that the government would not get involved in fullscale negotiations on the turning the ceasefire into a cessation of hostilities unless "the Serb troops stop their attacks."

Ganic also conditioned talks on a Croatian Serb withdrawal from Bihac and called on Rose to go to Bihac to negotiate a ceasefire.

Murphy said meanwhile that the ceasefire was holding across the whole of Bosnia Wednesday, and that the situation was quiet in the Bihac enclave. "The situation is quiet, the cease-fire is holding," Murphy said.

The UN spokesman added that a 61-year-old woman was shot and wounded by a sniper in central Sarajevo Tuesday.

Ganic Meets With Rose

AU2712123594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 27 Dec 94

[Report by Senada Cumurovic]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Cumurovic] The situation in Bihac, Cazin, and Velika Kladusa was the topic discussed at today's working meeting between General Rose and Dr. Ganic. Here is what Dr. Ganic said about the essence of the talks:

[Ganic] We drew attention to the fact that the chetnik troops are in the region, that the chetnik troops from the Knin Krajina and, of course, Karadzic's troops which came from the other direction, are currently in the region of Velika Kladusa, in the vicinity of Velika Kladusa. We are demanding that the chetniks should withdraw from our territory and [words indistinct] UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] implements this, conditions will then be more or less created for what we have called a cease-fire. At the moment, they are attacking in the region of Velika Kladusa, and we are very, very worried. We are going to try to stop them. That was the first point.

The second point is the next document, once the ceasefire has been fully implemented. The document pertains to the cessation of hostilities. [Words indistinct] of the document, we drew attention to the following point, that being the necessity of securing efficient control of the border with Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina's western border with Croatia, the part of the border where the troops of the Krajina Serbs are deployed. We believe that the demilitarization of Bihac is not possible, and UNPROFOR has agreed with this because there is always the question of who is going to defend Bihac at this critical point since we cannot trust either the Serbs in Knin or Karadzic's Serbs. Therefore, Bihac is, of course, a safe zone, we know just how safe it is, and that is why our troops are always going to be around Bihac, and they have to be redeployed between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

We also drew attention to the fact that Fikret Abdic exists only as a name, and that all those allegedly fighting for him are actually Knin Chetniks. We pointed out that we are aware of this, and we warned UNPROFOR that (?it should not manipulate information about this) [words indistinct].

[Cumurovic] Our delegation will this afternoon continue discussing these issues with Gen. Rose.

Ganic Links Talks to End of Bihac Fighting

LD2712193494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1915 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec. 27 (Tanjug)—Bosnian Muslim Vice-President Ejup Ganic on Tuesday made a continuation of talks on cessation of hostilities contingent on stopping the fighting in the Bihac area.

Bosnian Serbs and Muslims signed a ceasefire agreement, that came into effect at noon last Saturday, and agreed to negotiate a four- month cessation of hostilities.

Agencies quoted Ganic as saying, during talks with the United Nations Protection Force commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina Gen. Michael Rose, that the Bosnian Serb and the Serb Krajina forces had been taking part in the inter-Muslim fighting in the Bihac area.

Ganic said the Bosnian Muslim government would not enter any talks until after the Bosnian Serb forces suspended their attacks and Krajina Serbs pulled out from the Bihac pocket in northwestern Bosnia.

He also sought that the border between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serb Krajina be sealed airtight.

U.N. officials in Sarajevo have confirmed the fighting between the Izetbegovic and the Abdic troops south of the town of Velika Kladusa in the Bihac pocket, but said they had no report about the Bosnian Serbs taking part in it.

Bosnian Serb President Radovan Karadzic on Monday denied the allegations that the Bosnian Serb army had been helping the Abdic troops in their fighting against the Izetbegovic troops in west Bosnia.

In a letter to the U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, Karadzic said it was an inter-Muslim conflict in which the Bosnian Serbs would not interfere.

The inter-Muslim fighting in west Bosnia was renewed in early November, when Abdic's supporters launched an offensive to regain the territories they had lost to the Bosnian Muslim Sarajevo government troops late August. Abdic proclaimed the autonomous province of west Bosnia in September 1993, refusing the Sarajevo government policy toward the civil war in Bosnia. Abdic did not sign the seven-day ceasefire agreement.

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The AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE news agency said Tuesday that Gen. Rose was to visit the Bihac pocket on Wednesday to discuss a possible ceasefire with Abdic.

U.N. spokesman in Sarajevo Aleksandr Ivanko said Tuesday the talks about the four-month cessation of hostilities were continued on an informal level. Ivanko said the United Nations was hoping that Bosnian Muslims' current stand would not jeopardize the peace process in Bosnia. He said the meeting Gen. Rose had with the warring sides officials Monday was positive and useful. Ivanko said the United Nations drafted a new agreement on the cessation of hostilities.

Ganic Calls For UN Control of State Borders

AU2712193294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] This afternoon, Ejup Ganic, member of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and vice president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, received Colum Murphy, deputy head of the civilian sector of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], and discussed the elements of the lasting cease-fire, which, after the Contact Group's plan is accepted, is the condition for negotiations, BH PRESS reports.

Ejup Ganic stressed that without UNPROFOR control of the state borders, with Serbia and Montenegro on one side and the Knin Serbs on the other side, it is impossible to establish a lasting cessation of hostilities.

General Rose 'To Try To Meet' Abdic 28 Dec

AU2712202794 Paris AFP in English 2014 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Dec 27 (AFP)—UN Bosnia commander Lieutenant-General Sir Michael Rose will try to enter the embattled Bihac enclave in northwestern Bosnia on Wednesday [28 December], UN spokesman Alexander Ivanko said Tuesday.

Rose is expected to try to meet local warlord Fikret Abdic, a rebel Moslem who earlier this month recaptured the town of Velika Kladusa, his former stronghold, and has since been pursuing an offensive towards the south despite a nationwide ceasefire in force since December 24.

The UN commander is to attempt to enter the Bihac region from the Croatian port city of Split, as a previous attempt to reach the pocket by road from Zagreb two weeks ago was blocked, as separatist Croatian Serbs obstructed his convoy and prevented him from entering their territory.

The Bosnian authorities have asked Rose to intervene with Abdic, threatening to boycott talks aimed at hardening the ceasefire into a cessation of hostilities unless the Serb-backed Moslem dissident respects the ceasefire. Abdic and the Croatian Serbs backing him were not signatories to the ceasefire brokered by the United Nations after mediation by former U.S. President Jimmy Carter.

A four-month cessation of hostilities is scheduled to be completed before a January 1 deadline.

UN Protection Force spokesman Major Koos Sol said there was a "slight increase" Tuesday in military activity in the Bihac enclave, with small arms fire recorded in the Grabez plateau sector, to the south, and some machinegun fire south of Velika Kladusa, to the north.

Local Serbs Reportedly Rebel Against Karadzic

AU2712190094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Dec 94

[Report by unidentified correspondent from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Text] We have learned that, in the region of Bosnian Krajina, the rebellion among local Serbs against Radovan Karadzic is spreading increasingly due to fear of the latest chetnik offensive. The residents of the villages of Ravnice and (?Pavirnica) in Bosanski Novi Municipality are rebelling.

We have also learned that there are many casualties among the (?Manijakosi) units of Borislav Mikelic and the police, who are taking part in the crushing of the rebellion.

The rebellion is being hushed up, as is the (?condemnation) of it. The rebellion of the peasants in that and other regions is gradually spreading. The main reason is the disagreement with the policy of Radovan Karadzic.

Sarajevo Radio: 380 Serbs Killed at Bihac

AU2712195594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Dec 94

[Report by Mirza Sadikovic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The attacks by Martic's chetniks and Abdic's separatists from the so-called SAO [Serbian Autonomous Region] Krajina on the territory of Velika Kladusa Municipality continued today. They again tried to carry out alternate artillery-infantry attacks on Johovica and other villages from the Komesarac region. The attacks were organized along the entire border line with the UNPA [UN Protected Areas] in the Republic of Croatia. [passage omitted]

According to reliable information, in the 57 days of the hitherto strongest chetnik offensive on the Bihac region—a UN protected area that is being attacked by the joint formations of the Army of the so-called Yugoslavia, Karadzic's and Martic's Chetniks, and Abdic's separatists—380 aggressor soldiers have been killed. At least 520 of them have been wounded seriously. There is a large number of those who were captured or who have (?voluntarily) surrendered themselves.

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According to the still incomplete information, about 50 civilians were killed in Bihac and more than 200 were wounded either seriously or slightly, mainly women and children. More than 1,400 houses, apartments, and places of worship were burned down or destroyed. All this illustrated sufficiently the extent of the consequences of the fascist idea of creating a greater Serbia between Belgrade, Banja Luka, Bihac, Velika Kladusa, and Knin. [passage omitted]

Izetbegovic Visits Gornji Vakuf, 7th Corps Troops

AU2712201994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Dec 94

[Report by Enes Osmancevic]

[FBIS Translated Text] Continuing his visits to the free territories of our country, Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, today visited Gornji Vakuf. Enes Osmancevic reports:

[Osmancevic] Visiting Gornji Vakuf, President Izetbegovic first paid a visit to the officers and soldiers of the 317th Glorious Hill Brigade of the 7th Corps of our army. The current military situation in the theater of operations of this unit, its combat experience, and the soldiers' position were the main topics of the talks.

The town that had the population of 25,000 people before the war, more than half of whom were Bosniaks, the town that has suffered horrific destruction during the aggression—some 4,000 houses have been destroyed on the territory of the municipality—has nevertheless been defended. More than 70 percent of the territory of Gornji Vakuf Municipality is being controlled by our army. Life is returning here.

Alija Izetbegovic, president of the state presidency, saw this for himself when he toured the town and when he spoke to the people. The residents of Gornji Vakuf were delighted with the president's visit and gave him a warm welcome everywhere.

President Izetbegovic also met the representatives of the municipality, people's deputies, and the representatives of the Travnik region. The current political and social issues dominated the talks.

Accompanied by his hosts, President Izetbegovic at the end of his visit to Gornji Vakuf (?paid a tribute) to all those who gave their lives for the defense of Gornji Vakuf.

President Alija Izetbegovic is currently holding talks with the heads of the communes and people's deputies from the Travnik and Banja Luka regions.

Silajdzic Views Establishment of Federation

AU2712193394 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Dec 94 p 7

[Interview with Dr. Haris Silajdzic, prime minister of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Mia Jeric; place and date not given: "The Croats Lack the Willingness To Establish the Federation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] With the establishment of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, the former foreign minister and prime minister of the Republic, Dr. Haris Silajdzic, was appointed prime minister of the federation. He was in Zenica last week to attend the sessions of the Assemblies of the Federation and Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, where he also headed the meetings of the Clubs of Representatives of the SDA [Party of Democratic Action] and the negotiations with the Croat side regarding personnel issues. This was also a chance for us to talk to him about current political issues.

[Jeric] Considering the fact that the session of the Assembly of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation was started and then postponed several times due to disagreements between the representatives of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community], representing the Croat people, and the representatives of the SDA, representing the Bosniaks, would you tell us how you, as prime minister of both governments, see the present situation in the relations between the two peoples, and what the current relation between the Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina is like?

[Silajdzic] The Assembly session was to be held in Zenica at the request of the Croats who set the place and the time, though the Bosniak side had demanded that it be held in Sarajevo. In order to understand and explain the relation between the federation and the republic, the Constitution should be read, and everything will then be seen clearly. I admit that there are certain overlaps and conflicts of authority that are evident in the Constitution, but we entered this consciously. We thought it was better to have things this way than have the conflicts resume. It is all, in fact, a matter of political willingness, both as far as this session and the establishment of the federation are concerned. A willingness to coordinate opinions and interests should be shown. We were successful in establishing peace between the Croats and Bosniaks, but not quite so sucessful in implementing the federation Constitution, which relates particularly to establishing temporary measures and bodies. However, it seems that some lack the political willingness, or even the good will.

I Reject the Division of Bosnia

[Jeric] It is obvious that you are implying that the Croat side lacks the political will for the establishment of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation. Could you give us arguments to support this?

[Silajdzic] Regardless of whether the Croats like it, this is completely clear. In my opinion, it is only the Croat side that lacks the will, although I am not saying that we Bosniaks could not have done more. What I reproach the Croats for is clear if you see that the Croat side has not formed cantons where they should have done so and

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where it was possible—for instance, in western Herzegovina. The Croats could have established municipal councils in these cantons, but they did not. On the other hand, where the Bosniak-Muslims are the majority, the jobs regarding the establishment have been completed. I am talking about facts here.

[Jeric] What did you expect of these sessions of the Assemblies of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Zenica?

[Silajdzic] I would like to emphasize that I expect to finally agree with the Croats on some important issues, and to finally see something concrete done. I expected the competition and manipulations to stop, because there are no longer the naive and the overly wise in these areas. We have to respect each other and start doing some serious work. We also have to agree and form these municipal and cantonal councils. The first task we in the SDA wanted to work on at these sessions was the forming of the federal police force, which would make it possible for the refugees to return to their homes. Therefore, we should form a mixed police force that would protect the citizens returning to their homes, since it is clear that the people will not return to areas that are not safe.

[Jeric] Despite your statements regarding the desire for the relations between the Croats and Bosniaks to normalize, there are still situations involving conflicts on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is because the constitutional solutions are not being implemented. What is your position on this, considering the fact that you took part in the talks on the creation of the union of three republics in these areas?

[Silajdzic] I have always conducted one kind of politics, which is not to allow the creation of Greater Serbia at the expense of Bosnia-Herzegovina or Croatia, which I can substantiate with documents. My role in creating the federation is well known to all, and I have always refused the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina into three parts. I believe that the conflict between the Croats and Bosniaks was unnecessary and forced and that it was a conflict between victims. I have always believed this, regardless of the fact that some people have tried to foist some different statements on me.

Protecting the Privileges

[Jeric] While we are on the subject of the relations between the Croats and Bosniaks and your role in their normalization, we should remember that, last year, at the first meeting with the Croats at the Foreign Ministry in Zagreb you agreed upon the guidelines for the establishment of peace, the ceasefire, and the flow of goods and aid. However, few of these were implemented then, despite your promises. Can you guarantee that everything you have mentioned is really a position that will hold?

[Silajdzic] I was very glad that the meeting took place last year. It was unsuccessful, but it led to other meetings that had positive results. This talks at the Foreign Ministry in Zagreb were the first real step toward the normalization of the relations between the Croats and Bosniaks. It seems that we were destined to have many unsuccessful meetings, but eventually we did manage to create the federation of the Croats and Bosniaks. I must say that these talks in fact represented the establishment of political contacts that led to the Croats and Bosniaks finding common ground. Do not think that we change our positions often—all the agreements have been confirmed on paper.

[Jeric] It seems that there is more promptness in your work regarding foreign political matters at the moment than in the work related to the establishment of the federation.

[Silajdzic] I do not think so, but I have heard many such remarks. I think that my work as prime minister of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina shows everything, which is that I am working for the federation and good relations with the Croats.

[Jeric] Will the issues the Croats and Muslims can still not agree upon finally be "legally arranged"?

[Silajdzic] If I had not believed they would, I would never have started this business of creating the federation. I am certain that this is possible, because the Croats and Bosniaks want it. However, it should be stated that there are certain interests and privileges that certain people have assumed, which they would not even have considered in peace time. I repeat, there is not enough willingness to establish real relations, because it is precisely these people, whose names I do not wish to state now, who will not abandon the acquired war privileges. I primarily have Herzegovinians in mind here. I would also like to add that, as far as the interests of both peoples are concerned, the only possible solution for all is the federation, and that is why I am working toward it.

The Spine of Bosnia-Herzegovina Has Not Been Broken

[Jeric] According to what you have said, this all seems to be quite simple. How would you account for the fact that Croatian citizens and the Croats from Bosnia-Herzegovina cannot move freely about Zenica and other areas controlled by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army?

[Silajdzic] To my knowledge, the Croats are moving freely about Zenica. However, while we are on the subject, ask yourself why the Bosniaks cannot survive in Stolac, Kiseljak, Capljina.... This is a matter of facts, and it is easy to check whether it is true.

[Jeric] At the recent meeting of the joint Bosniak-Croat committee in Gornji Vakuf, there was talk of the Serbs being prepared to exchange territories. As is known, the Bosniaks had negotiated that with the Serbs earlier. Which areas were discussed at that time?

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[Silajdzic] It seems to me that Bosnia-Herzegovina is considered to be a country in which everyone can do whatever they want. This committee is not qualified to state political opinions, and the same goes for Brigadier Gordon, who chaired the meeting. We have accepted the Contact Group plan, my parliament confirmed it, and I am behind it.

[Jeric] What exchanges with the Serbs were discussed?

[Silajdzic] There were offers you could write a science fiction novel about. The Serbs wanted to exchange many things, from Dubrovnik and Prevlaka to Vukovar, Baranja, Knin.... You should know that Bosnia-Herzegovina is an old state, whose borders cannot be changed as easily as some would like. After all, we do not want that. No one has the right to decide upon changing the borders except us and our parliament. The Belgrade regime has violated the internationally recognized borders, and we are asking that the same regime recognize the internationally recognized borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Only then will we turn a new page in our relations, and until then there will be no serious talks with the Serbs.

[Jeric] How do you, as prime minister, see the future of the federation? When will the Bosnian dinar become a true means of payment in Bosnia-Herzegovina, considering the fact that the German mark is used now?

[Silajdzic] It all depends on international circumstances and on how much the international community will really help reconstruct our country. It is up to us to finish all the jobs regarding the establishment of the federation and the end to the war as soon as possible, so that restoration and development can start as soon as possible. Bosnia-Herzegovina is tough, and this war was in fact an attempt to break its spine. We all know that its spine has not been broken, because this country is an able one, which we are going to prove. As far as the Bosnia-Herzegovina dinar is concerned, it will become a convertible currency when production starts and when trade and goods are behind it.

Muslims, Croats Exchange Charges of Expulsions

LD2712140994 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1335 GMT 27 Dec 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec. 27 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Croat leader Dario Kordic said Tuesday [27 December] a total of 37,000 Croats had been expelled from the Muslim-controlled areas since the setting up of the Muslim-Croat federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Misunderstandings between Muslims and Croats over the implementation of the Washington agreement on their federation continue. Instead of returning the refugees to some areas of the Muslim-Croat federation, massive expulsions of civil population continue.

In a statement for Muslim-controlled Sarajevo Radio Mostar District President Smail Klaric on Tuesday accused the Croat authorities of obstructing the process of return of the Muslims to the so-called Neretva Canton in central Herzegovina.

Klaric specified that the Croat side refused to discuss the return of the Muslims whom Croat Defense Council units had expelled from the areas of the towns of Prozor, Stolac and Capljina.

After several months of fierce fighting for control in Bosnia-Herzegovina during 1993, the Muslims and Croats signed in March this year, under strong pressure from Washington, an agreement on setting up a federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

At the start of the 32-month civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Muslims and Croats had expelled about 40,000 Serbs from Mostar and the Neretva River valley.

Muslim-controlled Sarajevo Radio correspondent claims that out of 8,000 Croats, who last year fled Vares after the Bosnian Muslim army captured the town, only about 700 had returned to the Vares municipality in central Bosnia.

As reported by Herzeg-Bosnia Radio, the Croats are second-rate citizens in the Muslim-controlled town of Vares, without any human or political rights. Freedom of movement is completely restricted for the Croats, and the Croatian language is banned in schools for Croat children.

According to data issued earlier by both the Croats and Muslims, about 180,000 Croats had been expelled from the Muslim-controlled areas, and about 55,000 Muslims from Croat-controlled areas.

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Tudjman Gives Speech During Slavonski Brod Visit

LD2712183394 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1430 GMT 27 Dec 94

[Speech by President Franjo Tudjman in the Slavonski Brod town square on 27 December—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dear Croatian men and women, dear Croatian youth, members of the Croatian Army, defenders of Croatia, my Croatian kinsmen, Croats from neighboring Bosnia-Herzegovina, from Bosnian Croat Posavina. Thank you for your welcome. Your welcome reflects the unity of the Croatian nation, its desire to build a free, independent, sovereign, and democratic Croatia, a country that will have full democratic liberties, and a country where no foreigners will ever rule again.

I was here among you shortly before the first elections—three or four years ago; only four years have passed since we adopted the constitution of our democratic, independent, and sovereign Croatia. Only three years have passed since the Yugo-communist army and Serbia mounted their all-out attack against Croatia's freedom and independence.

Dear friends, in the fall of 1991 the world wanted to preserve and resurrect Yugoslavia, they wanted to throw us down on our knees; the all-out offensive from Vukovar to Dubrovnik and the shelling of Banski Dvori were aimed at destroying Croatia's liberty. Despite all that, we are here with our freedom, our state in the world community of sovereign states. Those who did not want an independent Croatia are recognizing it today and are becoming our friends.

As I said in the Croatian parliament recently, Croatia can really be proud and assured that its friends and allies include the mightiest world power—the United States—in one part of the world, and China in the other.

However, we also have friends and allies in Europe. Even Russia, considered to be traditionally on the Serbian side, even it recognizes Croatia's independence and its territorial integrity. That Russia, which the Serbs relied on, and the whole of Europe, as well as the whole world, they recognize our right to establish our sovereignty over every inch of the occupied Croatian areas. We will do this, [applause] we will do this in a peaceful way if possible. We will not only drive on the highway, we will also soon ride a train from Zagreb to Slavonski Brod. [applause] We will also open the railway from Zagreb to Split via Knin. [applause] All Croatian areas will be liberated and integrated into the legal and constitutional system of free and sovereign Croatia.

Some on the Serbian side are beginning to comprehend that they have not been able to defeat Croatia, and that they will have to reconcile themselves with the fact that they will have to recognize this independent and sovereign Croatia within its internationally recognized borders and give up the occupation of Croatian areas [applause]. We will grant all civil rights to the Serbs who recognize the Croatian state, and who recognize Croatia as their homeland. However, I also have to say at the same time, that those who do not accept a peaceful resolution, those who want to obstruct the peaceful return of occupied areas to Croatia, had better leave Croatia before they make the entire Croatian nation angry. [applause] Anyway, the whole world is against them today. They must understand that their greater Serbian goals could not be realized by the Yugo-Communist army in the past, and the same goes for their Serbia and their Yugoslavia today.

Therefore, it is time for them to accept a peaceful political solution. We grant their civil and ethnic rights, we grant them the right to be normal citizens in a democratic Croatia. However, [applause] we have to tell those who plan to resist that, as war criminals, they will be subjected to not only our laws, but also to international laws. We want to establish peace as soon as possible in order to return our displaced, our refugees, so that we can devote ourselves to healing the wounds of aggression, so that we can devote ourselves to the reconstruction of Croatia. We want to normalize our relations with Belgrade, with Serbia. We know from history that there were many nations in Europe and in far away Scandinavia, which is now a positive example of relations between independent states of Scandinavia and a showcase of democracy [as heard]. We know of European states who waged wars against each other such as France, Germany, and others and now they live in peace and are pillars of democracy and stability on the Scandinavian peninsula and in Europe.

Therefore, it is our opinion, and on our part we are ready to accept and to work on the normalization of Serb-Croat relations on one condition—that Serbia and their Yugoslavia should recognize Croatia within its borders and call on the Serbs in Croatia to accept peace and recognize Croatia, or to look for another homeland if they do not want Croatia. [applause]

As I said dear Croatian brothers and sisters, the world did not want an independent and sovereign Croatia three or four years ago, but today Europe and the world recognize that Croatia, and needs Croatia as a part of the new international order. In resolving its main problem, the liberation of occupied areas and reconstruction of economy and a better life, Croatia will no longer be encircled by a hostile world. We now have friends and allies and our enemies have to count on this. We said several years ago that we should take the fate of Croatia in our own hands and every Croat can rely on it today that the fate of Croatia is stable, that a better life is ahead for Croatia, and Croatia will really be the way we build it. Long live our eternal Croatia. [applause]

Adviser Views Agreement With Local Serbs

AU2712131394 Split NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Dec 94 pp 18-19

[Interview with Dr. Ivic Pasalic, presidential adviser for domestic politics, by Tihomir Dujmovic; place and date not given: "Fijacko Has Not Been Replaced by the HDZ"]

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[FBIS Translated Text] [Dujmovic] The opposition has not ceased to express criticism concerning the signed agreement between the Croatian state delegation and representatives of the local Serbs. Could you competently say why the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] has so persistently refused to show the text of the agreement to the parliament representatives?

[Pasalic] I still say that it would be pointless to discuss the economic agreement signed with the local Serbs at the Croatian state parliament. First, there was an agreement with the cochairmen of the international conference in which it was established that the agreement not be presented to the public before the signing. Naturally, this was not a matter of hiding anything—the text was publicized and available to all—but rather of the technique of the negotiation process, in which each detail and each comma was discussed and negotiated until the last moment, in which changes in the text of the agreement occurred only through consensus, in accordance with the technique of the negotiations. In this situation we agreed upon certain very important things literally at the last moment. Finally, the main reason we wanted to go to the parliament with it is the fact that the parliament ratifies international agreements, while this agreement in no way falls under that category. Therefore, this is a technical agreement on implementing the Croatian policy that wishes to retrieve the occupied territory through peaceful reintegration. It is no more than that, and that is the way it should be viewed! If the Croatian Parliament were to discuss and decide upon each such agreement, then it could really turn out that the parliament discussed or ratified an international agreement, which is what the Serbs want. They want to create the illusion that this is an agreement between two states. I understand why someone in Knin would want this, but I do not understand that part of our opposition does not realize this. At any rate, the opposition wanted something else with this: by putting forward only semi-informations, they not only wanted to stir up our public, but also tried to divide the parliament majority! However, the representatives realized what the issue was, and this attempt of the opposition fell through.

The Guarantee of the International Community Is Important

[Dujmovic] All right, but the signed agreement does not contain the usual introduction that would clearly say the issue was Croatian state territory upon which a transmission line will be mended, a road opened, and so on. How is this possible?

[Pasalic] I will not say that it would be redundant if, at the beginning of the agreement, there was an introduction that would mention this, but the fact that such an introduction does exist is being neglected. Namely, our delegation insisted on this introduction, but the Serbs took such an exclusive position on the last day that it was necessary and useful, for the sake of the success of the negotiations, to compromise. So, at the end of these painful negotiations, our side accepted that the introduction not be in the text of the agreement, but that there be an introduction that would, together with the text of the agreement, make up the entire agreement package. Then it was agreed that the introduction be in the form of a letter signed by the peace conference cochairmen and the ambassador of the United States, Mr. Galbraith, and of the Russian Federation, Mr. Kerestedzhiyants. In this way we have a signed guarantee of the international factors that this is in fact a matter of nothing else but implementation of the relevant Security Council resolutions.

[Dujmovic] Was it possible to discern from all these negotiations that the Serbs realized that "Knin and Vukovar will be Croatia, or else there will be no Knin and Vukovar", to paraphrase their real leader a little?

[Pasalic] In the informal negotiations it was possible to see and hear that they completely understood that. We clearly heard from them that there are Security Council resolutions stating the UNPA's [United Nations Protected Area] were Croatian territory, but that they could not sign that because they were afraid of the reactions of their public. Similar explanations arrived from Belgrade, too. However, the issue is obviously the reintegration of the UNPA's—we have Security Council resolutions on this, guarantees of the international community, and set deadlines, and if all this does not hold, then we will resolve the problem of occupation of parts of the Croatian territory in another way.

[Dujmovic] I would still like to know why we were so conciliatory.

[Pasalic] I would not call it that. We have a clear aim, and we can achieve it through persistent and patient negotiations, or with armed force and victims. The Croatian authorities do not want bloodshed! We said now that this fact, according to which the introduction is a separate document, is nothing but our last concession. We clearly stated that it was not an expression of weakness of any kind, but of our interest, consciousness, and desire that the crisis be resolved fast and in a peaceful way.

[Dujmovic] Is the thesis correct which was heard among the opposition, saying that the Croatian side, by not mentioning in the introduction the relevant Security Council resolutions and not securing that, had in fact given Russia room to put forward at the CSCE the position according to which this agreement is no continuation, no stage?

[Pasalic] No; this analysis, as many opposition analyses, suffers from starting from a narrow perspective in which there is a limited amount of information and judgment, but there are also conclusions made in advance. This is typical of part of the opposition: they draw a conclusion in advance, and then they choose and present the facts that they need and that fit into the story! A great part of our opposition automatically starts from the thesis that

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our policies are wrong, and then they try to put together stories necessary for this construction. In this particular case, the latest UN General Assembly resolution, the title of which is "The Situation on the Occupied Territories of the Republic of Croatia" proves them wrong in the best way.

[Dujmovic] The liberals have pointed out that with this agreement the UN mandate has in fact been extended, since the cars entering the highway can theoretically be controlled at the island of Vis, too!

[Pasalic] To my knowledge, the original text of the agreement was distributed to the parliament representatives in the Croatian language! Therefore, you could not say that the misunderstanding stems from the translation. The only thing that remains is to conclude that some read the agreement too quickly, and in a superficial manner. Therefore, with this agreement the mandate has in no way been extended—after all, even if it wanted to, Croatia could not unilaterally extend the UN mandate, since it is the Security Council that does that. There is only the part of the agreement that says that the UNPROFOR soldiers can patrol on part of the highway on the free part of Croatia. Therefore, the only thing they can do is observe the vehicles and the traffic unarmed. They have no authority to stop the vehicles or control the vehicles and passengers in any way.

[Dujmovic] If this is so, why was this provision entered in the agreement?

[Pasalic] Because we wanted to display our good will and annul the objections and fears of the representatives of the local Serbs, who pointed out that the people would be mistreated when they came to the territory under the control of the Croatian authorities. Namely, they persistently claimed that they would not be able to ride on that highway outside the so-called Sector West, because the Croatian authorities would retaliate. Our position is that this way we are displaying good will and making it possible for the UN members to observe what goes on at the highway. Naturally, we also said that all the citizens of Croatia were completely safe, but that all those against whom court proceedings have been instituted would have to answer. It is logical to assume that those against whom criminal proceedings have been instituted will not even take this road. Therefore, in order to guarantee the right to everyone else, in order to give the international community additional guarantees, we agreed to this gesture of good will. Therefore, this is another attempt on our part to establish trust, which is crucial if we want peaceful reintegration and normalization of the Croat-Serb relations.

[Dujmovic] Since you have mentioned peaceful reintegration, I would like to know if our authorities have finally taken the position that unless at least partial reintegration takes place by mid-January, the Croatian Army would enter the scene.

[Pasalic] It is quite certain that unless the reintegration begins by this time Croatia will not extend the UN forces' mandate. However, this does not automatically mean an announcement of armed conflicts.

UNPROFOR Will Not Stop the Vehicles

[Dujmovic] Where is the Croatian state interest concerning the anticipation of such strict bus traffic between the UNPA's? Theoretically, it means that a Chetnik can take a bus in Glina and come to Vukovar under the escort of the UN forces!

[Pasalic] Chetniks cannot travel because they will be stopped on the parts of the highway controlled by the Croatian police. Therefore, in this way all the Serbs from the UNPA's, citizens of the Republic of Croatia, who have in no way violated our legal system can travel on these and any other roads without any fear, and the Croatian state guarantees their safety. Mikelic's statements are obviously aimed at appeasing his public. As far as this provision is concerned, we, naturally, represented the position that anyone can sit in their car, or in a bus, and travel completely freely. However, the organized bus transport is an attempt at establishing trust. Namely, it should be taken into account that the population in the UNPA's is under immense media isolation, and the mere fact that it will be possible to travel by bus, even in this way, opens the possibility for these people to feel and see that these authorities do not wish to inflict any harm on them. I repeat, this does not hold in the case of those who have committed crimes. Therefore, it seems to us that there can soon be a certain change in the political climate in these areas in this way too.

Croatian Army at the Croatian Borders

[Dujmovic] Is it true that the kuna will not be valid in the UNPA's, that is, in the two districts?

[Pasalic] No, that is not true. With its constitution, Croatia has been established as an integral and indivisible state, and the currency on the territory of the Croatian state is called the kuna, which will be valid on the integral territory, although there were certain attempts, even on the part of the international mediators, to find another solution.

[Dujmovic] Will the territory of the two districts be demilitarized?

[Pasalic] As far as the army is concerned, I can only say that the Croatian Army will be at the Croatian state borders. Everything else is illusion.

[Dujmovic] How correct are the opposition estimates that there will be elections in the spring?

[Pasalic] I have nothing against the opposition preparing for elections—some of their appearances seem like pre-election campaigns. When you look at some of the opposition appearances, you can see that one of their aims is to provoke early elections. Here I also have in mind the circle of people around Manolic and Mesic, who were, for a while, markedly helped by almost the

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entire Croatian opposition. First they wanted to take away the parliamentary majority from the HDZ through a coup, and since they did not succeed, now they want to achieve that aim through early elections. There is a written scenario created by one of the opposition parties, and there must be others too. However, the HDZ has shown its strength, and they should realize this.

[Dujmovic] Has the HDZ decided if there will be elections in the spring?

[Pasalic] No such decision has been made.

[Dujmovic] In the end, I would like to ask you to state your view of the change of the replacement of VJESNIK's editor in chief. How come the person who increased the circulation of VJESNIK by 100 percent has been replaced?

[Pasalic] I am the wrong person to ask. The decision on relieving him of his duties was made by the management board, and the ownership structure of this paper is known to all. To my knowledge, the paper has had heavy losses, and I believe that the wish of the owner of the paper to make the paper profitable rather than incur losses is completely legitimate.

[Dujmovic] In other words, contrary to the rumors, Fijacko has not been replaced by the HDZ?

[Pasalic] No, of course not. The HDZ is held responsible for anything that can be made a problem or led to a problem through manipulation. This practice has obviously not stopped.

Economic Agreement With Local Serbs Viewed

AU2812095894 Rijeka NOVI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 17 Dec 94 p 2

[Article by Svetozar Sarkanjac: "Another Knin Abortion"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Unless a great miracle occurs within the next few days (which, in the Balkans, as opposed to the rest of the normal world, is possible precisely when it is least expected, and vice versa), even the greatest optimists will have to decide that the economic cooperation between Croatia and the UNPA, that is, between Zagreb and Knin, started and ended at the same time the moment the famous Agreement on Economic Issues was signed on 2 December. That is, judging by everything that was supposed to have happened within the past 15 days or so, but did not, this will be another in the line of the "negotiation processes" that seem only to have served the purpose of mutual delusion, another agreement whose "life" ends after the signatures are put on it under international pressure, or, perhaps put crudely, but picturesquely, another abortion of an unwanted child. Naturally, in such cases it is not a miscarriage. There is an impression that both sides—signatories of the agreement—would be sincerely happy with such an ending. Dissatisfaction remains for the third parties—international mediators—which could in this context be called "unsuccessful matchmakers".

The moves and statements we have lately been hearing from the representatives of the other, Knin side, are indicative enough of how this side is sincerely uninterested in the concrete implementation of what has been written and signed in the Agreement on Economic Issues.

The clearest answer to the question what it is that Knin actually wants has recently been given by Borislav Mikelic, "prime minister of the republic of Serb Krajina." In a long conversation held in the Belgrade TV studio and broadcast during prime time (all of which is indeed indicative) of the Serbian state television, the Krajina "prime minister" answered several reporter's questions without too many diplomatic reservations.

At the very beginning, Mikelic established that the recently signed economic agreement represented "fewer by far benefits for the Krajina, as opposed to Croatia." With this, he wanted to state immediately that they were "the cooperative and peacemaking side," and that they thus signed such an agreement even though it is at the expense of their interests.

So much for signing.

Who Has More Refugees?

As far as the implementation is concerned, Mikelic immediately pulled out of his sleeve the trump card of the former agreement, the so-called Zagreb cease-fire agreement. According to him, "first the peace cease-fire agreement should be brought to life, which is not possible before the Croatian forces return to the positions where they should be according to what is said in the Zagreb Agreement. Mikelic immediately specified by adding: "How can we let go of the highway now that the Croatian forces are at the line of contact instead of observing the buffer zone?"

In his TV appearance Mikelic referred to the issue of refugees and the expelled, or, as he says, "displaced persons":

"I told Sarinic clearly: If you intend to build your politics on some concept of yours concerning 130,000 expelled Croats, then I have to make a big correction there. First, 300,000 Serbs left Croatia in 1991 and went to the present FRY, and they still have no citizenship," (To illustrate the figure that Mikelic provided it is enough to state the announcement issued recently by an organization whose center is in Belgrade, and which is called 'The Association of Serbs from the Krajina and Croatia Living in the FRY,' in which announcement the 'Association' explicitly talks about 100,000 Serbs from Croatia. Therefore, Mikelic views the world through at least three-fold eyes). "Furthermore, 100,000 Serbs from Croatia went to the Serb republic, that is, Bosnia-Herzegovina at the time, 60,000 of them left to work abroad, 60,000 other Serbs in Croatia have changed their

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names and family names, 130,000 of them came into the present republic of Serbian Krajina from the industrial centers of Croatia, and there are more Serbs in the republic of Serbian Krajina than there were before the war. Therefore, the ratio of the expelled on our and the Croatian side is 6:1—unfortunately, in our favor. This is why I told Sarinic that we could discuss this issue with the Croats wherever and whenever they want, including the moon, if that is what suits them, but that this is not something they can build their politics on," explained Mikelic.

Mikelic Would Like To Have a Plebiscite, Not Reintegration

Apart from many other issues and similarly "argued" answers on Mikelic's part, the Knin "prime minister" in the end talked about the Croatian efforts in reintegrating the present UNPA's in the constitutional and legal system of the Republic of Croatia. According to him, intentions for future events in relations between Knin and Zagreb are as follows: "Only when the Croatian Army withdraws from our borders can we start elaborating the economic relations determined in the recently signed agreement. Once this part is resolved and implemented, then we will start working on agreeing on the other part of the economic issues, the ones we are most interested in being the Croatian debt toward our citizens. We have about 57,000 pensioners in the Krajina at the moment, who earned their pension in the former federal unit of Croatia, and some 7,000 foreign currency savers whose savings are in the Croatian banks. On this basis, our claims from Croatia are about $200 million in these four years. Once all this is resolved, we can start the story about what they call political relations. Naturally, with this we mean conversation on the normalization of political relations, and not reintegration of any kind. The reintegration of the republic of Serbian Krajina with Croatia is out of the question!" said Mikelic.

Mikelic also explained how they were going to explain these wishes to the world: "We will assure Europe and the world that they made a mistake in recognizing the present Croatia within its AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] borders, and that we have a definite right to a plebiscite. This is the job that is ahead of us now. I firmly believe that we will get this plebiscite before the international community."

The Only Aim—to Win Time

Are any conclusions necessary after these positions of Mikelic's, knowing that, along with the even harder Martic, he is part of the indisputable "Krajina" rowing pair (with the well-known Belgrade helmsman)? Even if these words were intended primarily for inter-Serb use, they are so hard that they make any conversation or signed agreement completely fruitless. Because of this, and even more because of what is specifically (not) happening on the ground and in practice (the example of the highway and the constant postponement of its opening "due to technical problems"), this so-called economic agreement is, at least for the time being, only another "Krajina" game, whose aim is to win time. Naturally, unless the aforementioned "miracle" occurs.

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Owen, Stoltenberg Visit Seen as 'Little' Help

AU2712212794 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 23 Dec 94 p 2

[Commentary by Zaneta Skerlev: "They Came, They Were Briefed, and They Left"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Lord David Owen and Thorwald Stoltenberg, cochairmen of the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, were very cautious in giving statements during their week's visit to our country. They numbered all the relevant subjects of the region on which, as they had announced, they had talked with President Gligorov and Foreign Minister Crvenkovski without any specifications.

The correspondents were left to make their own conclusions, and that is exactly what the cochairmen asked for and wanted. On their last days, the agendas focused on the Belgrade-Zagreb-Sarajevo-Knin relationship. They have long since abandoned Slovenia, even though it was once a Yugoslav republic.

The first version coincides with the official one, which is that they had come here to hear the opinion of the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] president about the regional situation and Macedonia's relationship with its neighbors, in which they were particularly interested about the Albanian opinion on education. However, there are some intriguing speculations that most of the discussions centered around the Greek-Macedonian dispute.

First, because Lord Owen (he did most of the talking) used diplomacy in avoiding the correspondents' question on this topic, although he himself mentioned that there had been some discussions on this subject (actually, this was also stated in the official information); and second, because he persistently dared not say Macedonia throughout the news conference, using terms like "your country, your government, here," and so on. As we know, this is done only by those who intermediate between Skopje and Athens in trying to solve the dispute with the purpose not to "complicate" things. It is also done by burdened diplomats that forget which country they are in at the moment because of their frequent journeys....

There is a third variant that is connected with the Greek-Macedonian dispute, as well as Serbian President Milosevic's visit to Athens. This variant contains two sub-variants. The discussions of Owen and Stoltenberg in Belgrade and then Skopje can be connected to Milosevic's proposal for a mini Balkan (con)federation, and even with Milosevic's mediation in the Greek-Macedonian dispute (according to one of his unofficial statements that "only he can solve the problem between Macedonia and Greece"), on which the cochairmen tried to "analyze the pulse" of the Macedonian political peak. The second sub-variant would be that the cochairmen simply used the break in their discussions in Belgrade (because of Milosevic's visit to Athens) to "drop by" in Skopje to see what was going on in this—for them—former Yugoslav republic.

Regardless of anything, it seems that the cochairmen are perfectly aware of the developing situation in Macedonia—that is, the reinforcement of its independence and autonomy that place our country on Slovenia's level—and the only interest that Macedonia can have and the cochairmen can discuss is the succession of the properties of former Yugoslavia.

They can also expose their own views if it is relevant for them (and for us) on the Conference on the Former Yugoslavia as far as the solution to the Bosnian crisis is concerned. Nevertheless, in the formation of this conference, a large number of diplomats and politicians were engaged and a large number of groups and commissions were formed; there have also been employed a large number of administrative workers that prepare materials and sessions, and, therefore, this big machinery called the Conference will have to make an additional effort on a smaller territory and provide better results. It is true that, during their visit to our country, they offered to mediate or help find solutions for some other problems besides the Greek-Macedonian dispute, but they also had to mention that those problems are mainly internal problems that have to be solved by the government and by some other structures, not this Conference. That is why, in the future, we should expect the cochairmen to provide concrete information to the correspondents, and thus to the public, about their activities. Otherwise their visits will project an image of tourism and information. Such visits, although not superfluous, still extend little help to our country, which is faced with sanctions, embargoes, and political pressure, at least when politicians like Owen and Stoltenberg are at stake.

Former Kosovo Assembly Deputies Arrested

AU2512214294 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 25 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The authorities of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia have arrested a score of former deputies of the former Assembly of Kosovo and handed them over to the police in Kosovo-Metohija. Our correspondent Milivoje Mihajlovic has learned that Albanian sources in Pristina are reporting that (Ilaz Ramaili), former deputy chairman of the Kosovo Assembly, has also been arrested in Macedonia, but that he has still not been handed over to the Serbian authorities. Four years ago, Ramaili chaired the illegal gathering in Kacanik, at which the phantom Republic of Kosovo was promoted and the illegal Kacanik constitution adopted.

The former deputies had hid in Croatia, Slovenia, and then Macedonia. Albanian sources in Pristina report that two correspondents for the Pristina paper BUJKU in Macedonia were also arrested with the same group and claim that the Macedonian authorities have not given any reasons for the arrest.

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NDP Condemns Government for Expelling Radicals

LD2712184294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1646 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Skopje, Dec. 27 (TANJUG)—Radical Albanian leaders in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM] Tuesday strongly criticized the government for recently expelling a group of Albanian separatists.

Skopje press quoted the influential Albanian National Democratic Party (NDP) of saying that the application of police methods against Albanian activists was 'a threat to peace and the stability and security of the state and the region.'

NDP, which has deputies in the republican parliament, said that an unspecified number of Albanians from Serbia's Kosovo and Metohija Province remain in local jails.

NDP said they should be allowed to remain in FYROM.

The republican Interior Ministry denied there had been any arrests and said the Albanian state radio, which had reported on this, was 'spreading lies.'

Commenting the ban of an Albanian-language university in Tetovo and the alleged arrest of the Skopje correspondents of the Pristina papers RILINDIJA and BUJKU, the local association of Albanian journalists said the police had 'acted against the efforts of the Albanians to be equal in all spheres of life in Macedonia.'

Neighboring Albania recently warned FYROM not to interfere in its internal affairs.

Albanian separatist leader from Kosovo, Ibrahim Rugova, recently joined the attacks on Skopje by demanding in a letter to FYROM President Kiro Gligorov the immediate release of the arrested Albanians.

Report Analyzes 1995 State Budget Figures

AU2812095594 Skopje VECER in Macedonian 27 Dec 94 p 3

[Report by V.M. Bozinovska: "First Care—Rationality"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Two days ago the government of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] adopted the draft proposal for the budget of the next year, and according to some information it is expected to be also adopted by the parliament of the republic soon.

The state treasury for the next year is planned to be worth 51,200 million denars, out of which 49,400 million will be from authentic sources and 1,800 million will be obtained as credit from the World Bank. This credit will be used for paying back credits to 23 loss-incurring companies encompassed by a special government program. According to the stabilization program, while the planning of the budget was in progress, the starting point was to restrict expenditures and limit subsidies for agriculture to 1,094 million denars or 1.05 percent, and exports stimulation to 363 million denars. A budgetary restriction in salaries for employees was planned by decreasing their number and their salaries to the level of June plus an 8-percent increase. There was also a planned restriction in investments for critical needs for construction projects that have already started and for the completion of construction of nearly finished projects.

According to the income projections in the framework of the new taxation system that began functioning at the beginning of this year, including the personal income tax, the estimates are that the budget will receive 9,600 million denars from this part, 2,900 million denars will be obtained from taxes, and 7,500 million denars from trading and services. There will also be 16,700 million denars from acquisitions, 8,600 million denars from customs and other imports payments, 8,600 million denars if the average rate of 17.8 percent inflation is accomplished, as well as from reexamining customs regulations for further decrease and reduction of customs payments to 25 percent in conformation with the IMF memorandum.

As far as the expenditures of the budget are concerned, the state will finance structural measures in 1995, as well as far greater financial support for the revival of banks, for the construction of the railway from Beljakovce to Deve Bair, and for payments for foreign credits of loss-incurring companies within the special government program. In this area, it has been envisaged that 14,049.6 million denars will be paid for salaries, which is 15.9 percent more than this year, although salaries have been projected to rise only by 8 percent. A total of 6,296.8 million denars will be paid for materials, goods, and services, which is 54.6 percent more than this year, while it has been planned to give 1,683.3 million denars for reserves and other expenditures from the budget.

It has been proposed to pay 2.824 billion denars for social assistance to families, encompassing from 57,000 to 60,000 households. The unemployed will be covered with 20.365 billion denars, and for pensions and other social security there will be 2.839 billion denars paid.

The state treasury has also planned to pay 5.037 billion denars for subsidies, out of which 1.192 billion denars will be paid for currency savings, mainly for paying 100 German marks for social cases, education, and medical treatment abroad, for weddings, funerals, as well as for payments to some companies that have worked in Iraq, that is 125 million denars, including assistance to the banks amounting to 3.548 billion denars.

Report Views Improvements in Inflation Rate

AU2812091594 Skopje VECER in Macedonian 27 Dec 94 p 3

[Report by V.M. Bozinovska: "The Denar Swims Calmly"]

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[FBIS Translated Text] This week the first round of the practical implementation of the stabilization program is continuing, and according to the January plans, it is now entering the second phase called stand-by arrangements. In spite of many skeptical analysts who doubted the program's success, we can now be sure when we say that it has produced the first results. Inflation has finally been restrained, the exchange rate has been stabilized, and the currency reserves have been increased beyond expectations.

Actually, in regards to the inflation and exchange rates, success has been achieved not only in what was agreed with the international financial institutions, but the results in these fields have shown to be much better than projected.

Inflation

Namely, we ended 1993 with a total inflation of 230 percent. The projections were that, with the stabilization program, inflation was expected to be 70 percent by the end of 1994. We have done more than that and we ended 1994 with an annual inflation of only 54 percent, which is much more favorable than we had expected and planned. We were particularly afraid that we would not succeed in January this year, because inflation reached a horrifying 22 percent, which was beyond expectations. However, in February inflation was reduced to 6.8 percent, after which it continued to fall, and in March and April this year it was 2.4 percent, in May 1.6 percent, in June it was 2.3 percent, while in July we had a deflation of 0.6 percent. Inflation was in the vicinity of what had been planned from July until this month, and in August inflation was 0.6 percent, in September 1.8 percent, in October 2 percent, in November 2.2 percent, and according to projections, inflation in December will be 2 percent.

According these figures, we should not be skeptical if we believe that what has been planned for the next year will really come true. Inflation for 1995 is projected to be only 17.8 percent, which means that it would be 1.75 percent monthly in the beginning up to 1 percent in the second half of the year, and that is something that has been already agreed with the IMF. Depending on the success in keeping down inflation, we shall get the support of the Fund for economic assistance to the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] with the stand-by arrangement if it is signed by the end of next month.

Exchange Rate

Normally, the fall and the stabilization of inflation is a result of the stabilization of the exchange rate, which was kept more or less on the same level in the previous months, with slight changes. In the first five months of the year the denar was continually falling against the German mark, and thus the denar was down by 4.60 percent compared to the German mark from 31 December 1993 to 31 January this year. In February it was 1.59 percent lower, in March 0.51 percent, and in May 0.02 percent. The denar rose against the German mark in June this year when it was 0.98 percent higher, 0.91 percent higher in July, 1.98 percent in August, and 0.78 percent in September. In October the value of the denar compared to the German mark fell by 1.38 percent; it rose by 0.03 percent in November, while according to information from the Macedonian National Bank, it decreased by 0.43 percent by 23 December this year.

Since the end of last year up to the end of this year the denar has declined by a total of 1.91 percent compared to the German mark, and compared to the U.S. dollar it raised its value by 12 percent.

As they say in the National Bank of Macedonia, the Central Bank has made constant interventions in the market in selling currency (over $90 million have been sold in the past months), first of all for the purchase of raw materials and equipment, and thus the demand for currency has been decreased, and therefore we do not expect greater changes in the denar exchange rate. Actually, its stability is something that has been projected in the monetary and currency policy of the National Bank of Macedonia for the next year, and that is something that has been elaborated by the Central Bank and presented for adoption to the parliament (it is planned to be presented by the end of the year).

New Ministers Subject to Disclosure of Holdings

AU2712134694 Skopje VECER in Macedonian 22 Dec 94 p 3

["V.V."-signed report: "The Property of Ministers Will Be Presented in Public"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "The property of the ministers will soon be presented in public," Minister Gjuner Ismail said at his first news conference as the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] Government's spokesman held yesterday, just after the first session of the new government.

Ismail explained this decision as the objective position of the government, but also as the political reality and implications, with the aim of avoiding unpleasant events that might endanger the reputation of some or all the members of the government.

"The government will also authorize the commercial banks in the republic to put at the public's disposal information about the consumption of currency savings by the ministers during their mandate, that is at the time this consumption had been suspended," spokesman Ismail said.

Minister Ismail also discussed the formation of the government's economic and legal councils whose members will be elected according to their high professional skills, regardless of their political stances. He said that this was another important decision that was taken at yesterday's government session.

Ismail informed that yesterday the duties were divided according to a usual democratic course. Since the definite text of the budget is in the preparation phase, the ministers were introduced to the situation in the budget.

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Ismail announced that the budget would be the subject of discussions at the government's session that would be held on Friday [23 December], and the next day the parliament will receive the definite text.

Plans of Parties Comprising New Parliament

95BA0041A Skopje VECER in Macedonian 8 Nov 94 p 4

[Article by S. Kramarska: "Loosening Regulations"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *It is expected that the new parliamentary composition will work more efficiently in passing the laws which were "blocked" in the previous parliament as a result of insufficient majority.*

Virtually all members of parliament are emphasizing the need to pass the laws on local government and the courts.

Some laws already in the books will be amended.

Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] inherited a policy that influenced its first years of multiparty life. The partners in the Alliance for Macedonia—the Social Democratic Alliance, the Liberal Party [LP], and Socialist Party—that subsequently proclaimed themselves independent groups ensured their political dominance in the highest legislative institutions. It was thus that the parliament deployed its forces, including representatives of other smaller groups and parties representing various ethnic groups, which allowed it to become much more efficient and pass draft laws, including those that had been delayed and those of a transitory nature, in setting up the political and economic system of the country.

Priorities and Amendments

According to Tito Petkovski, under those circumstances a priority task for the Social Democratic Alliance is strengthening the system by passing the Law on Courts, which filled the gap that had developed in setting up the judiciary system. Another part of the political system is passing the Law on Local Government and, let us not forget, the electoral laws, the modification of which is perhaps one of the greatest priorities that shall be debated soon. It is important to recall, however, that in working on the electoral laws we will consult with the nonparliamentary political parties, he emphasized. One of the processes that will be initiated quickly in the area of the political system, Petkovski stressed, is reorganizing the administration of the state.

According to Petkovski, in the area of the economy, privatization will be essentially speeded up, as will changes in the taxation system, by passing relevant resolutions. A great deal of work remains to be done, according to him, on concluding agreements with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, as part of the support that those financial institutions are providing Macedonia. Important among the activities on the international level is membership in the CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe] and the Council of Europe, settling bilateral relations with Greece and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and establishing diplomatic relations with other countries.

During the next four-year term, the LP will concentrate its ambitions on structuring a judiciary system and on laws regulating state administration and local government. According to Secretary Ace Kocevski, this is grounds for having local elections next year. The Liberals have noted possible changes in the draft law on local government and are prepared to accept new ideas concerning the process of ownership changes, which is developing slowly.

Also important is the study of the implementation of a stabilization program, Kocevski said, and the possibility of eliminating all of its shortcomings, eventually developing legal and other prerequisites for the normal development of economic life. Also within the area of LP interests is the policy of taxation, customs fees, and foreign trade relations, calling for the initiation of a new investment cycle as one of that party's imperatives.

At the Lowest Possible Cost

Opening new jobs and improving the living standard are priority targets for our party, says Professor Dr. Jovan Lazarev, deputy chairman of the Socialist Party, who will also be a member of the new parliament. The second project of that party will be to round up the political and economic system and then see to it that all the laws that were blocked by the previous parliament are adopted: on local government, education, and public institutions and universities. Being a socialist party, whose program is based on social policy, Lazarev emphasized, we shall call for privatization at the lowest possible social cost. During the preceding mandate our party submitted a law on pensions to farmers, which was passed. We are entirely ready for dealing with all aspects of the procedure and the passing of other laws in this area, which we hope will be supported by parliament.

The thinking in the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] is that in the forthcoming mandate it would be difficult for it to promote its views, because the party will have 10 to 12 parliamentary seats and will not constitute a "problem" to the majority enjoyed by the Alliance for Macedonia. Nonetheless, Secretary Naser Ziberi says, even under those circumstances Macedonia will have a competent government and promote the real privatization of capital. Economically, that party favors continuing the trend of stabilization of the denar. In the political area, the PDP gives priority to local government and the judiciary based on truly democratic decisions, Ziberi stresses, emphasizing that these laws are being delayed because of lack of the necessary majority in the preceding parliament.

In turn, the People's Democratic Party, again according to its leadership, is in favor of passing laws on the equal use of national symbols and languages and amending the Constitution. It stresses the significance of passing new electoral laws, including laws on local government.

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Christians, Liberals Opposed on New Minister

AU2812091694 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Although government parties—the Christian Democrats and the Liberal Democrats—at the end of last week announced that their leaderships would meet for talks on the further functioning of the ruling coalition today or tomorrow, it is still not known when this meeting will actually take place.

We have learned in circles close to the leadership of the Liberal Democracy that Dr. Janez Drnovsek, prime minister and president of the Liberal Democrats, sent a written reply to Lojze Peterle, president of the Christian Democrats, last Friday [23 December]. In his letter to Peterle Drnovsek writes that due to reasons explained in his previous letters, the proposal to appoint State Secretary Peter Vencelj as foreign minister is unacceptable.

For this reason, Drnovsek explains in the letter to Peterle, he stands by the decision to propose to the parliament as soon as possible the election of a new candidate with expert background and without party affiliations.

Simultaneously, Drnovsek offers a possibility to Peterle to resume talks between the Liberal Democrats and the Christian Democrats at the level of working groups as soon as possible, even this week, if feasible.

Let us add that the parliament will most probably discuss the candidacy of Mojca Drcar Murko for the new foreign minister on 12 January. Of course, prior to this the candidate will have to successfully pass the questioning in the parliamentary commission for international relations.

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Federal

Sandzak Bosniaks Claim FRY Still Sending Goods

AU2712165894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Sandzak Bosniaks living near the border with Bosnia-Herzegovina know best that the embargo that was allegedly introduced by the Serbian regime against Karadzic's Serbs on the Drina River is not being respected. The flow of arms, troops, military trucks and equipment, fuel tanks, and helicopter flights are only a shade less intensive than in 1992. True, the helicopters that are flying daily toward Bosnia-Herzegovina bear the red cross insignia, which represents only a skillful cover up for the international monitors who are only deployed on several border crossings. For instance, the bridge on the Lim River near Priboj is being crossed without any problems from both directions. This was announced by the Information Center of the Muslim National Council of Sandzak.

The former Yugoslav People's Army, or to be more precise, the Army of the self-proclaimed Yugoslavia, has dug through and made several crossings toward Bosnia-Herzegovina during the rainy period. Their passage was facilitated and made easier by military bulldozers. The most active crossings are those near Globovo.

The Serbs and Montenegrins are using all kinds of tricks. They often open fire in the night in order to remove the observers, if they are there. This renders the crossings, which are not controlled anyway, even freer.

Extra Conditions To Lift Sanctions Unacceptable

LD2712143594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1319 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 27 Dec (TANJUG)—Federal Prime Minister Radoje Kontic said today that any kind of expansion of UN Security Council conditions for lifting the sanctions is absolutely unacceptable to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY].

Kontic visited the Kluz Public Enterprise in Belgrade and told the management that the government's first task is definitely to lift the sanctions and return the FRY on world markets and to the international community.

"The FRY has fulfilled all conditions defined by the UN Security Council in its Resolution 752 and there is not a single reason left for continuing the sanctions against our state," he said.

Kontic said that certain members of the UN Security Council are blocking the decision to lift the embargo because they have other political goals regarding the FRY and are trying to link the lifting of sanctions with the resolution of the issues of the republic of Serb Krajina and Kosovo.

"That is absolutely unacceptable for us and we hope that Russia and the EU [European Union] feel the same way," Kontic said. [passage omitted]

Jovanovic: Bulgaria To Back Lifting of Sanctions

LD2712184494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1650 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec. 27 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic on Tuesday said he expected Bulgaria and other countries in the Balkans to back the lifting of sanctions against Yugoslavia.

A Foreign Ministry statement quoted Jovanovic as saying this at the meeting with Bulgarian Deputy Foreign Minister Dimitri Ikonomov.

The statement quoted Jovanovic as saying he was confident that the international community would soon lift the sanctions that generate conflicts and hinder peace.

Jovanovic advised Ikonomov of a Yugoslav Government initiative to call on the Security Council to remove the sanctions.

The statement said that both sides agreed the sanctions were causing a great deal of damage to the entire region, hampering the social and economic development of a large number of countries and lowering the standard of living.

The statement said Jovanovic informed Ikonomov about Yugoslavia's contribution to the peace process for ending the civil war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its efforts to resolve a series of problems between Serb Krajina and Croatia.

Serbs in Croatia set up their own state, the Republic of Serb Krajina, in 1991, after Croatia launched a war of secession from the former Yugoslavia and removed Serb national rights from the Croatian Constitution.

Jovanovic and Ikonomov said the mutual interest of the two countries was the further promotion of bilateral relations and cooperation on the basis of friendship and good-neighborly relations.

The statement said the two had emphasized a need for promoting political dialogues, economic and other cooperation, and confidence buildup.

The two said both countries were interested in resuming regional cooperation in the Balkans, primarily in the field of economy and environment protection.

They also said that ethnic Bulgarians in Yugoslavia had all necessary conditions for keeping their national identity and were a factor of bringing the two countries closer together.

Ikonomov is visiting Belgrade for consultations with Yugoslav Deputy Foreign Minister Radoslav Bulajic.

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Chief of Staff Perisic Discusses Army's Role

AU2712172694 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] In the past 12 months, the Yugoslav Army has tried to be a state-stabilizing factor together with other social components, Colonel General Momcilo Perisic, chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army, said at a news conference. Here is a report by Radovan Pantovic:

[Begin recording] [Pantovic] The Yugoslav Army has a defense function and advocates a peaceful solution to all problems on this territory. At the same time, it is one of the guaranties of peace, Col. Gen. Momcilo Perisic, chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army, said in opening the news conference.

[Perisic] The Army is the guarantee of the survival of the people on this territory—together with other factors, of course—of the protection of the territorial integrity, of the sovereignty of the country, and of preventing many exponents of other countries' policy from creating conditions for all kinds of destabilization, including economic.

The combat readiness of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugloslavia] Army is at a level that certainly makes it possible for the Army to prevent any surprises and represents an essential factor for the stability of the country, and, ultimately, if somebody (?gives in), that is, if our country's territorial integrity is threatened, the Army will be capable of [word indistinct] (?necessary) measure.

[Pantovic] In replying to journalists' questions, Gen. Perisic said, among other things, that a radical change had taken place lately regarding the world's attitude to the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, because a danger of it escalating has arisen. As the masters of war do not want this to happen, they will most probably take measures to keep the war under control, that is, they will not withdraw the UN forces.

Commenting on the military budget, the chief of the general staff said that the Army must have understanding for the bitter economic reality. The Army's needs are far greater than the possibilities of the state. However, it is estimated that the resources allocated are as big as possible in this situation and that this ensures the maintenance of combat readiness at a level of dissuasion of anybody who would try to threaten Yugoslavia's security. The Army is a part of society and is ready to share society's destiny. All Yugoslavia's borders have been ensured as far as the level of current needs.

There have been some incidents on the border with Albania, but they were fewer than in the previous year. On the border with Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia], there have almost been none at all. There have been many problems with Croatia, above all regarding the region of Prevlaka, as many things there are undefined, particularly in the zone secured by the UN forces.

Finally, sending a New Year's message to the members of the Yugoslav Army, the chief of the General Staff said that the Army must keep true to the traditions of the recent and earlier history.

[Perisic] We should defend the integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and, by performing our regular duties, ensure conditions of really being a stable segment of the society and ensuring peace in this region through the function of dissuasion. [end recording]

National Bank Governor on Monetary Policy

LD2712210894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1906 GMT 27 Dec 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec. 27 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav National Bank Governer Dragoslav Avramovic on Tuesday spoke about the monetary policy before the Yugoslav parliament. Avramovic said the National Bank would not finance deficits, neither that of the state nor of firms.

Avramovic said that certain weaknesses had been noted in some firms and public services which were unable to meet their financial obligations. He said they would have to restructure themselves. Avramovic said it was necessary to reduce the economy's fiscal burdens in order to secure more funds for wages, pensions and investments. Avramovic said the basic elements for evaluating the final success of the economic recovery program were a real rise in wages and employmnet rates.

Avramovic said that during the following year it would be hard to achieve maximum production levels and the stability of economic trends in conditions of international sanctions. He said he hoped the sanctions would soon be lifted. Avramovic said that in the January-December period, industrial production had risen by 56 percent compared to the same period in 1993, and agriculture production by 8-9 percent, while gross turnover increased three-fold and retail turnover a little less. Avramovic said wages had risen eight-nine times, without substantial losses to firms and by increasing foreign currency and commodity reserves.

'We have also started the daring experiment of pegging the dinar to the German mark because we had no alternative. We have managed to maintain the one-to-one parity and the current agio is about 30 percent—yesterday it was a little less, today somewhat more,' Avramovic said.

Avramovic said the black-market foreign currency rate had reached 1.80-1.90 dinars for one German mark [DM], but that currently it ranged from 1.20-1.40 dinars.

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Avramovic said that in the February-December period prices had risen by six percent, and industrial prices by 1-2 percent from June to December. He said that the most important result was increased employment and higer real wages which rose from the dramatically monthly low DM30 to DM250 or more.

Avramovic said the number of employees on paid leave had, by some estimates, dropped to 120,000 people, and according to others, to as many as 200,000-300,000 people. Avramovic said that in question was a stabilization carried out without social conflicts and supported by the workers—which rarely occurs in the world.

Study Views Society's 'New Ruling Class'

95P20284A

[FBIS Media Note] Under the rubric "The New Ruling Class," the 7 November issue of the Belgrade economic weekly EKONOMSKA POLITIKA published an article by Zarko Mihic titled "The Law of Three Elites" examining research by sociologist Mladen Lazic into the makeup of "the economic elite of contemporary Yugoslavia." The issue also contained an interview of Lazic by Mihic.

According to Lazic, the economic elite constitute 3 to 5 percent of the population. They climbed to the top of the "pyramid" following the collapse of the socialist state, the ensuing war, and the imposition of UN economic sanctions. He divided the new elite, which he termed the "lumpenbourgeoisie," into three groups—"state entrepreneurs" (managers of state- and socially-owned firms or partially privatized firms under state control), "war entrepreneurs" (managers of partially privatized firms), and "market entrepreneurs" (owners of large private firms)—with a symbiotic relationship. By exploiting its monopolistic positions and the instability of the economic system, Lazic observed, this class helped the state in illegal international transactions and, in return, assured for itself economic and political power. According to Lazic's estimates, the elite consists of "tens of thousands" of wealthy persons who wield economic power and a group of 3,000-5,000 who combine economic and political clout.

Within the group of "war entrepreneurs," whom he described as thriving in and working to maintain the crisis economy, Lazic paid special attention to war profiteers. Although small in numbers, they wield great economic influence, he noted. Lazic claimed that they are an integral part of the political elite, unknown to the public but certainly known to the political leadership. "I think that Dragoslav Avramovic (governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia and mastermind of the Economic Stabilization Program) knows who these people are," Lazic told Mihic in the interview, adding that members of this group occupy high positions and that if their names were disclosed "it would, without a doubt, destabilize the system itself." In his study, Lazic concluded that the state and the political establishment play a role in the "criminalized economy" and that this "structural problem" of society cannot be solved by any committee of "honest citizens." He also predicted that an oligarchy of politicians, state managers, and private businessmen would continue to dominate future development of Yugoslavia, stifling any democratic tendencies within the government.

The same issue of EKONOMSKA POLITIKA summarized the results of research by Danilo Mrsic into regional variations of black-market activity. According to Mrsic, 40 percent of Montenegrin black marketeers are involved in smuggling and selling gasoline, alcohol, and cigarettes; 35 percent deal in illegal foreign currency transactions; and 20 percent trade in food. In contrast, 54.4 percent of Vojvodina black marketeers trade in food and 5.8 percent in foreign currency. In Serbia proper, 5.3 percent of black marketeers specialize in foreign currency. No further statistics were given. EKONOMSKA POLITIKA concluded that geography and tradition were major influences on black-market activity, noting that Montenegro has always had its "contrabandists." It noted, however, that "those on the other side of the law" now included not only businessmen, but even leading government officials.

Serbia

Serbian Assembly Approves 1995 Budget

LD2712212294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1812 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 27 Dec (TANJUG)—The Serbian Assembly, in the absence of opposition deputies and without a debate, today approved the Law on the Republic's Budget for 1995.

The total budget revenue was fixed at 4.995 billion dinars. Of this sum more than 2 billion dinars is earmarked for financing public expenditure through special accounts, while 620.6 million dinars is earmarked for financing budget funds and stimulating development.

Deputies approved a decision according to which 23.6 million dinars is to be transferred to the budgets of the provinces—17.8 million dinars for Vojvodina and 5.8 million dinars for Kosovo and Metohija. Part of the republic's budget revenue—66 million dinars—will be distributed to the municipalities, according to criteria established in a special law. [passage omitted]

Opposition Parties: BORBA Case 'Brutal Act'

AU2812081794

[FBIS Editorial Report] The alternative edition of Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian, the one issued by the Editorial Board headed by Gordana Logar who was replaced by the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] Government on 23 December, on 25 December on page 1 carries five unattributed reports on statements by opposition parties about the replacement.

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A 200-word statement by the Presidium of the Serbian Renewal Movement terms the "decision of the Federal Government to appoint its clerk director and chief editor of the independent newspaper BORBA" "the gravest attack on the freedom of the journalistic profession" and "preparation for a coup against all the remaining forms of multiparty democracy." The statement further expresses "most resolute support for BORBA journalists in their resistance to the political commissars of the resurrected Bolshevism."

A 200-word report on the statement by the Civic Alliance of Serbia says that the party calls the replacement "an incomprehensibly brutal act of abolishing the newspaper's independence" and "warns the citizens of Serbia that they must resolutely stand in defense of the right to free information. Abolishing this freedom will be the first step toward turning Serbia into a big prison."

The third, 150-word report cites Vojislav Kostunica, leader of the Democratic Party of Serbia, as saying that "the crude police attack against the only nonregime daily in Serbia, BORBA, is going to have some unpleasant consequences for the current Serbian authorities: uncovering the true, authoritarian nature of Milosevic's regime in the country and in the world, and rallying democratic forces in the defense of threatened or, to put it more correctly, abolished public freedoms in Serbia."

The 300-word statement by the Democratic Party says that, in its opinion, "the appointment of Dragutin Brcin director of the Borba Newspaper Enterprise is a part of the political process that the Federal Government has been leading against this newspaper with a view to putting it under state control." "The Democratic Party refutes all explanations that property relations are involved in the processes against BORBA and the Studio B Independent Television. They are political processes directed against independent and free journalism."

The 300-word report on the statement issued by the Reformist Democratic Party of Vojvodina says that this change of chief editor "represents the most brutal act of smothering free journalism and a clear intention of turning this respected daily into a one-party organ." Further on, the statement is cited as saying that "in recent years, BORBA was a newspaper that was trusted and open to a pluralist opinion, different from a prescribed opinion that one got used to in a one-party, monopolist system. BORBA's editorial policy was based on facts." Finally, the statement says that "this decision will do the greatest damage to readers and the image of Yugoslavia and Serbia in the world will again fall to the lowest level."

Montenegro

Prime Minister Expects Sanctions To Be Lifted

LD2712212894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1941 GMT 27 Dec 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec. 27 (TANJUG)—Montenegrin Premier Milo Djukanovic Tuesday said Montenegro was vitally interested in the total lifting of the sanctions against Yugoslavia and in a peace in Bosnia.

"If a peace in Bosnia is a condition for our own peace and entire future, then it must be clear to all that the total lifting of the sanctions is to be expected in order to finally end the tragedy and achieve a lasting stability in the region," Djukanovic said.

Djukanovic said the UN sanctions had caused damage to Montenegro amounting to 5.6 billion dollars.

The UN Security Council in late May 1992 imposed sanctions against Yugoslavia due to its alleged involvement in the civil war in neighboring Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In early October the Security Council suspended for 100 days sanctions in the sphere of air and sea traffic, sports and culture after Yugoslavia severed all links with the Bosnian Serb Republic which failed to accept the "Contact Group" plan for Bosnia.

Yugoslavia closed its border with the Bosnian Serb republic to all goods except for humanitarian aid.

Djukanovic said that, during the entire Yugoslav crisis and in 1994, Montenegro had made a constructive contribution to the search for a peaceful and democratic solution to the crisis. Speaking about relations with neighboring Albania, Djukanovic said the Montenegrin Government had engaged in activities which were in keeping with Yugoslavia's diplomatic efforts to improve its relations with neighboring countries.

These efforts resulted in a trend of improvement although incidents are still recorded, but much less than before, Djukanovic said.

He said that in the economic sphere, 1994 had been marked by the federal economic recovery program. The speedy regulation of the economic situation and rising economic activities introduced by the program, enabled Yugoslavia to strengthen its negotiating position with the international community and affirmed its peace policy, Djukanovic said.

Djukanovic said this had most certainly influenced the Security Council to decide to start suspending the sanctions.

'Very Critical' Electricity Supply Situation

LD2712232994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1706 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Niksic, 27 Dec (TANJUG)—The electricity supply situation in Montenegro is very critical and lengthy power cuts will perhaps be the only way of preserving the electricity system, it was said at

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today's session of the management board of the Montenegrin Electricity Supply Public Company held in Niksic, the headquarters of this public company. [passage omitted]

Montenegrin reservoirs which generate hydroelectric power are virtually empty. The Perucica reservoir currently has enough water to generate only 17.572 million kwh—12 percent of maximum output. The Piva hydroelectric plant has enough water to generate only 23.6 million kwh, or 7 percent of maximum output. The amounts of water in these reservoirs, it was stated, represents only the essential minimum in order to maintain the system.

Montenegro is currently being supplied with electricity from Serbia's electricity supply system; it receives 2,880,000 kwh as part of an exchange deal (involving the Piva hydroelectric plant), and it purchases the rest. [passage omitted]

LS CG Claim Authorities Deported Refugees

AU2512195594 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Dec 94 p 6

[Article by Draguljub Vukovic: "Silence According to the Constitution"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Six Liberal Alliance of Montenegro (LS CG) deputies had proposed that the Montenegrin Assembly consider founding a parliamentary investigating commission in order to examine the behavior of Montenegrin authorities toward the citizens who have been coming to Montenegro since 1990 as refugees. The commission was to collect information from state authorities, non-governmental organizations for human rights protection, and other sources in order to investigate this issue thoroughly. It was proposed that the commission be allowed to interrogate witnesses who could help clear up this issue, as well as introduce the obligation of civil service officials in charge appearing before the commission.

The LS CG deputies claimed there were several reasons for founding such a commission. They said it could be assumed that the refugees had been discriminated against by the state authorities. They also claimed there were reasons to believe that certain Montenegrin authorities had seriously violated humanitarian rights stipulations, as well as international obligations regarding the treatment of refugees. Quoting the mass media, the proposal makers stated that there was some doubt as to whether some Montenegrin authorities (Ministry of Internal Affairs and others) had extradited certain refugees to irregular paramilitary formations from the republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Painstaking Way to Truth

The LS CG proposal was supported by all the opposition deputies, but the majority voted against it (Democratic Party of Socialists deputies), accepting the Legislative Board's attitude that there was no constitutional basis for establishing an investigating commission.

Although the proposal makers also had refugees from Albania in mind—some were returned to Albania, others to Kosovo—it seems that the commission's first task should have been to investigate the treatment of refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina.

On 21 July 1992, Pavle Bulatovic, the then-Montenegrin minister of internal affairs and the present defense minister, admitted that all persons between 18 and 60 were sent back from Montenegro following a requirement by the Serbian Republic and the Federal Autonomous Region of Herzegovina. "A certain number of these people was sent back—some of them from the border and some from Montenegro. The Serbian side treated them correctly, apart from those of them that had committed crimes," Pavle Bulatovic explained in a meeting with the leaders of the Party of National Equality. He also said that these activities were stopped after two or three days. Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic said in the same meeting that this was not being done any longer.

Much later, replying to a question asked by a deputy, Internal Affairs Minister Nikola Pejakovic disclosed some details of the action carried out in the spring of 1992, including the names of the people who were extradited to the Serbian authorities in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Extradited were not only Muslims, but also Serbs. [passage omitted]

Who ordered the Montenegrin police to act as they did? There is still no answer to this question, or to the question whether there were, apart from the mentioned cases, further cases of refugee deportation and what their destiny was. The Montegrin Assembly founded a commission in 1992 that was supposed to gather relevant information on deportation cases. Because of the election results at the end of that year, the commission was dissolved before having accomplished anything. After this issue was resumed in March 1993 in the form of a question asked by a deputy from the Social Democratic Party of Montenegro, only the above-mentioned answer came from Minister Pejakovic. That was all. Since Attorney General Vlado Susovic—who promised to give an interview to a VREME correspondent in April 1994 after it had been examined whether there were any criminal actions in the treatment of refugees by the Montenegrin authorities—did not take any action, LS CG deputies urged that a parliamentary investigating commission be established.

When BORBA wrote for the first time about Montenegrin authorities deporting refugees, Mr. Nebojsa Vucinic, assistant professor at the Law School in Podgorica, told us that this was a flagrant violation of the convention on the status of refugees and a war crime against civilians. "People were caught in order to be exchanged for the purpose of ethnic cleansing," Stevan Lilic, a professor at the Belgrade Law School, said for VREME.

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Merchant Fleet Reduced; Result of Sanctions

LD2812120494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0115 GMT 28 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Podgorica, 28 Dec (TANJUG)—Montenegro's merchant fleet has been reduced by seven ships, which had to be sold as a result of sanctions.

The total tonnage of the fleet has thus been reduced by 22 percent to 840,000 tonnes.

According to a report compiled by the republic's Chamber of Commerce in December, the average age of the ships is 16.5 years. Nearly 50 percent of the highly qualified staff and leading managers have left the fleet. [passage omitted]

Kosovo

End to FYROM Repression of Albanians Demanded

AU2712134594 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 25 Dec 94

[Announcer-read statement by the Government of the Republic of Kosovo; place, date not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Government of the Republic of Kosova expresses its deep concern over the unexpected and unjustifiable arrest yesterday of deputies of the parliament of Kosova by the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, FYROM] police. Pressed by repression and pursued by the Serbian police after the violent dissolution of the parliament of Kosova by Serbia, these delegates were obliged to find shelter in The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

The latest action of this state is another act that testifies to the premeditated escalation of tension in interethnic relations and particularly in violating the rights of Albanians.

The Government of Kosova expresses its very great concern also about the fact that these acts by Skopje coincide in time with the escalation of Belgrade's acts against the people of Kosova.

The Government of Kosova strongly protests to all international institutions over these acts, drawing attention to the continuous and flagrant violations by Skopje of the CSCE principles, norms, and standards, which Skopje on paper declares to apply, particularly when it aspires to become a member of this organization.

The Government of Kosova appeals that these repeated violations of these principles and norms should constitute an object of discussion and stance by the CSCE and be followed closely by the CSCE mission in Skopje, so as to make Skopje control the undertaking of such actions in conformity with the spirit of the CSCE documents, in order to avoid a marginal worsening of inter-ethnic relations, which would be of great consequence for the entire region, and above all for The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia itself, where the Albanian people living in their ethnic territories have played and continue to play a role of a decisive importance in its stability and security.

The Government of the Republic of Kosova calls on the Macedonian Government to urgently examine its stances, stop the mistreatment of Albanians, and stop the arrests and repressive measures against them. Only in this way can the international community create a conviction that this state is trying to implement international and CSCE principles and norms and that it really wants and works for stability and security in the southern region of the Balkans, the statement by the Government of the Republic of Kosova concludes.

Rugova Appeals to Gligorov

AU2712130994 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1735 GMT 25 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Republic of Kosova, has sent a letter to Kiro Gligorov, president of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia], regarding yesterday's arrests in Skopje of the delegates of the former assembly of Kosova and two reporters of the newspaper RILINDJA.

The letter states: We received with concern the news of the arrest of a number of members of the former legislature of the Kosova Assembly and two journalists. Your government was aware that these deputies were obliged to abandon Kosova and temporarily settle outside Kosova, including Macedonia, after the violent abolition of the Kosova Assembly.

I ask you, Mr. President, to undertake the necessary action to have the arrested released as soon as possible and allow them to remain in Macedonia. Their release would be proof that your government favors cooperation and follows a policy of good neighborliness with Kosova and the Albanian people, President Rugova's letter concludes.

Letter Sent to Crvenkovski

AU2712142794 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 26 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Luljeta Pulaj Beqiri, chairman of the Social Democratic Party [SDP] of Kosova, has sent an open letter to Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

Among other things, the letter states that the communique by the Government of Macedonia—whose prime minister you are, Mr. Crvenkovski—regarding the initiative to form the university of Tetove created a deep indignation among our party members. We hoped that you, as the prime minister of the newly created state of Macedonia, which is in the official process of defining itself democratically, and being at the same time chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Macedonia, would have made efforts at least to soothe the heavy

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burden of anti-Albanianism of the Macedonian regime in former Yugoslavia, in an effort to revive the lost interethnic compact and the country's stability.

It is redundant to testify to you, Mr. Crvenkovski, that Albanians in Macedonia are not a nationality at all, but a people, because this is known quite well by the signers of the official communique and the farsighted framers of the Constitution of Macedonia, who showed a timely care for the constitutional support for their evident aims.

After further stressing that the building where the university was to be situated was demolished with threats and over 200 policemen, the letter by the chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Kosova sent to Macedonian Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski points out that these acts testify to a discrimination against Albanians in Macedonia, the kind of discrimination that the Government of Macedonia and Crvenkovski attempt to negate persistently.

Mr. Crvenkovski, finally we are regretfully obliged to find out that this approach and your behavior toward the problem of the education of a people has nothing in common with social democracy.

The letter by Luljeta Pulaj Beqiri, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Kosova, has also been sent to Rudolf Scharping, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany; Franz Vranitzky, chairman of the Austrian SDP; Michel Rocard, chairman of the French Socialist Party; and M. Heinz Fischer, deputy chairman of the Socialist International.

Kosovo Paper Accuses Skopje

LD2712145894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1420 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pristina, Dec. 27 (TANJUG)—An Albanian language paper in Serbia's Kosovo and Metohija accused Tuesday Skopje of deportation of 18 ethnic Albanians.

Describing this as an 'anti-Albanian act', the paper asked The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia President Kiro Gligorov 'to immediately stop this anti-Albanain activity so as not to raise tensions in this part of the Balkans.'

The Skopje authorities last weekend expelled 18 ethnic Albanians, who were the delegates of the so-called 'Kosovo parliament', illegally declared in the town of Kacanik in September 1990 by the separatist movement of the Albanian minority in Serbia's southern province of Kosovo and Metohija.

The movement's leaders and their followers want to secede this Serbia's province and join it to the neighboring Albania.

Citing the statements of the ethnic Albanians expelled from Macedonia to Kosovo and Metohija, Bujku said Serbia's police released them after beriefly detaining them after the Skopje authorities handed them over.

The expulsion of the former delegates was among other things linked with the conduct of the official Skopje concerning the founding of an 'Albanian university' in the northwestern Macedonian town of Tetovo.

Bujku, too, confirmed that former vice-president of the Kosovo Assembly Ilijaz Ramajli, who presided the illegal meeting at Kacanik and was elected president of the 'parliament'of the self-proclaimed 'Republic of Kosovo', was the only one to be spared deportation. Ramajli was released and remained in Macedonia, most likely in the capital—Skopje. He and some other organizers of the illegal separatist meeting at Kacanik were on the wanted list.

Percevic Meets ARA Chairman Discuss 'Equality'

LD2712224594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2158 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec. 27 (TANJUG)—The Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] Deputy Chairman Goran Percevic on Tuesday warned about separatists' futile attempts to manipulate ethnic Albanians in Serbia's southern province of Kosovo and Metohija against their own interests.

At a meeting in Belgrade with Albanian Republican Alternative [ARA] Chairman Semsudin Memiya, Percevic reiterated his party's determination to pursue a policy of equality and dialogue that has preserved stability in Kosovo and Metohija, said an official statement issued after the meeting.

A strong separatist movement has been active in Kosovo and Metohija for years, aiming to secede the province from Serbia and Yugoslavia and join it to neighboring Albania.

The delegation of the Albanian Republican Alternative is currently on a visit to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Percevic said the Socialist Party of Serbia maintained from its beginnings that the Balkans could build its future only on the basis of peace, equality, inviolability of borders, mutual ties and cooperation. He said the international community had adopted such policy as the only realistic one.

Memiya said the Albanian Republican Alternative supported the platform "the Balkans to the Balkan nations" as well as the integration processes in the region and good-neighbor relations. He called for more understanding and trust among nations and non-interference in internal affairs of another country. Memiya said political parties should base their dialogues on a common view of the future of the Balkans. He said no-one should be allowed to divide the nations in the Balkans, to reopen old problems or create new ones. He said he opposed secession and favored the idea that borders and national minorities should be a link among nations.

Percevic and Memiya agreed that the present situation in the region could not be completely stabilized unless the UN economic sanctions against Yugoslavia were lifted.

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